

Britain's Stake in Arab Victory—*Lillie Shultz*

# THE *Nation*

May 29, 1948

## The Catholic Church and American Democracy

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

✱

## A Right Secured

*End of the Restrictive Covenants*

BY LOREN MILLER

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## Stilwell and Chiang Kai-shek

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# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

THE AMERICAN STATE DEPARTMENT MAY have made representations to the Greek government concerning the murder of George Polk by the time this issue appears. We hope so and can only wonder at its remarkable silence up to now. The body of George Polk, who was the Columbia Broadcasting System's correspondent in Greece, was found floating in the waters of Salonika Bay on May 16, the head pierced by a bullet and the hands and legs bound with twine. Salonika is a hotbed of violence, a port city in which you can have a throat slit for a few drachmas. Yet the circumstances of Polk's death are ominously political. Here was a man who was outspokenly critical of the regime. He was known to have been seeking an interview with Markos Vafiades, leader of the guerrilla forces, who would obviously benefit by having his case put to the American people. And, above all, Polk had recently written a letter to Drew Pearson describing the efforts of reactionaries in the Greek government to intimidate critical correspondents. "The right wing," Pearson quotes him as writing, "is trying to get a number of us discredited or removed from Greece . . . there are a number of vague hints that 'somebody is likely to get hurt.'" It is entirely possible, of course, that Polk's murder, coming on top of these threats, was merely a tragic coincidence. But suspicion can hardly be diminished by the instantaneous verdict of Greek police officials that the killing was the work of "Communists." Various associations of journalists, including the Newspaper Guild and Overseas Writers, have started inquiries into Polk's death, but without the active help of the State Department their efforts are not likely to get far. We are waiting for Secretary Marshall and Mr. Griswold to tell us what the government is doing.

★

HAROLD STASSEN EXPECTED TO LOSE IN Portland, the only city in Oregon big enough to support a trolley line. He did. He expected to carry the expansive wheat, orchard, and timber areas downstate. He didn't—and thereby he may have lost the Presidential prize he has been laboring to win for the past three years. Approximately 84 per cent of Dewey's victory margin was contributed by Portland voters. This conformed with his record in Milwaukee and Omaha. But the Oregon farm-

ers, unlike those of Wisconsin and Nebraska, did not give Stassen enough votes to offset Dewey's preponderance in the city. In fact, Dewey actually led by a narrow margin even outside Portland. The reasons are complicated. Dewey had a tremendous exchequer. A quarter of a million dollars may have been spent in this bizarre Presidential campaign in a frontier state with only six electoral votes. On the night before the election, a typical bit of Dewey propaganda appeared. Every doctor in Oregon received a special delivery letter from a physician on Stassen's committee renouncing his affiliation because Stassen was allegedly sympathetic to socialized medicine. Stassen was unequal to the occasion. All he could do was reiterate his demand that the Communist Party be outlawed. Harping on this issue for three solid weeks was not shrewd in a state whose voters, by and large, have never knowingly seen a Communist. On the more intimate issues, Stassen pussyfooted. He did not even dare take up the problems on which Dewey challenged him. The man famed for his frankness equivocated on reciprocal trade, inflation, taxes, U. M. T., and conservation of resources. Dewey, on the other hand, talked on all these issues and made a good impression as a candidate. He was cautious, but what he said had substance; expert work was done on his speeches. And so, when the chips were down, he won, and his victory will go far to improve his chances at Philadelphia.

★

CARRIED AWAY BY PARTISAN ENTHUSIASM, Edward J. Flynn last week characterized President Truman's chances of election as "all right." Realizing, no doubt, that this might be put down as excessive optimism, the Bronx Democratic boss then hedged a bit, adding that of course "it's foolish to speculate until the Republicans name their candidate." At the same time, Leon Henderson, chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, came forth with some figures to indicate that even the nomination of Mr. Truman, not to mention his election, is a matter of doubt. Of the 802 Democratic convention delegates already chosen, only 176, according to Mr. Henderson's statistics, are actually committed to the President, and even if all the 432 delegates not yet chosen are so pledged, he would still be unable to count with certainty on getting a required majority on the first ballot. Since the Henderson statement, North Carolina has named an uninstructed delegation of 32, and South

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Carolina has committed its 20 delegates against the President, running the total of specifically anti-Truman votes to 55. The bulk of the uninstructed vote, of course, will go to Truman in the absence of a serious contender, but the point is that his nomination is not—and now cannot be—mathematically clinched in advance. This means that when Senator Barkley sounds the keynote, he will be addressing a convention open to other nominations. With states at the top of the roll-call certain to oppose the President, and major delegations like New York, Illinois, Michigan, and Massachusetts unpledged, uninstructed, and unhappy, a band-wagon rush to Eisenhower or Douglas is still a possibility. Should that happen, Mr. Flynn might find the chances of his party even better than "all right."

★

RUSTEM VAMBERY RESIGNED AS HUNGARIAN Minister to the United States because he found himself unable to accomplish the one purpose he had in accepting a thankless job—to improve relations between this country and Hungary. Dr. Vambery had no illusions about the political orientation of his government, but he was encouraged to believe that even its Communist ministers wanted trade and friendly intercourse with America. If so, it dissembled its desires very well; its Minister had neither a commercial nor a press attaché to help him, and the constant attacks of the Budapest Foreign Office on the United States made his assignment a hopeless one. When this hostility coincided with Washington's boycott of the Eastern European states, the chance for ameliorating the situation was reduced to zero. Dr. Vambery left, disappointed but not embittered. Having lived in this country since 1938, he will return to his normal pursuits as a scholar and writer, contributing, we hope, to the pages of *The Nation* as he did in the past. Some newspapers have tried to equate Dr. Vambery's resignation with that of his predecessor or with the flight of various anti-Communist leaders from the Eastern countries. Nothing could be more far-fetched. Dr. Vambery is no reactionary, nor will he join the fraternity of right-wing exiles in Washington. He is, on the contrary, an independent Socialist whose political convictions could hardly be upset by their recent collision with nationalism and ideological bigotry.

★

ON CHARGES WHICH WERE PREPARED BY THE FBI and which attain the ultimate in fatuity and falsehood, two Oak Ridge scientists have been suspended from their jobs, three have been summoned to loyalty hearings before the Atomic Energy Commission, and thirty others are soon to receive similar summonses. The principal accusation against three of the first five scientists is that they have relatives who belong to organizations suspected of Communist infiltration. Only one of



## The Republicans Sabotage Employment

THE Employment Act of 1946 was a cautious though ambitious attempt to introduce reasoned policy into the conduct of the nation's economy. It defined the national objective; it instructed the President to make regular reports on the state of the economy and the measures necessary for maximum production, employment, and purchasing power. It established the Council of Economic Advisers to help the President in making these reports and to maintain contact with non-governmental forces like labor, management, agriculture. Finally, it laid upon Congress the duty to establish a joint Committee on the Economic Report, which was to render to both houses, soon after the report was received, recommendations on each proposal for action which might be made by the President.

How has this system been working? Obviously, it has not stopped inflation, with its distortions which will make any future depression worse. The Council of Economic Advisers—the experts in the picture—have done their full duty and have done it well. The reports they have prepared for the President have presented a rounded and detailed picture of the national economy hitherto unknown. They have contained wise recommendations to Congress—not to reduce taxes, to enact various counter-inflationary controls which might be invoked as necessary, to attend to housing, social security, minimum wages. Business and labor have been urged to check unnecessary price and wage advances. The President has done his share by issuing the reports and giving his authority to the recommendations—though in this as in other matters he has not been able to mobilize much popular understanding for what he has proposed. Some scattered and tardy support has been enlisted from business and labor. Congress, however, has completely fallen down on its self-imposed responsibility. Indeed, it may be said to have sabotaged the whole plan.

The first Economic Report was issued in January, 1947. The Joint Congressional Committee on the President's Report not only did not announce its findings within the time limit set by law but allowed more than a year to pass before making any report at all. Meanwhile, Congress was busy reducing taxes, contrary to the economists' advice. The President was courageous enough to veto tax reduction last year, when the veto stuck, and also this year, when the reduction was passed over his veto and has correspondingly increased inflationary pressures.

At last, and late, the Congressional Joint Committee has issued its comment on the President's Economic Report for 1948. The Republican majority of the commit-

them is accused of being himself a member of a leftist organization. And the entire charge against the fifth individual—one of those suspended—is that "a person with whom you associated closely in the years 1943 to 1947 said you were very enthusiastic about Russia and seemed to be pro-Russian in your point of view." In addition to these absurdities, the charges are shot through with appalling misstatements of fact. One man is accused of having a relative active as editor of a pro-Communist newspaper and of having "received correspondence from Blank, . . . a member of several subversive organizations." The newspaper in question is actually anti-Communist, and Blank, now dead, was editor of two prominent scientific journals and corresponded with nearly everyone in his field. In another case, one relative of the accused is said to have attended a Communist-dominated camp, and a second to have belonged to an organization on Attorney General Clark's black list. The camp turned out to be an enterprise of Jerry Voorhis's cooperative league; the second relative proved he never belonged to the organization named. Although the AEC—required by law to conduct these hearings—has been as fair as possible in granting the accused men the right to counsel and to summon witnesses, and has reinstated the scientist whose relative went to Voorhis's camp, there is a summer of destructive uncertainty ahead of everyone at Oak Ridge. In consequence, the steady exodus of first-class scientists from the laboratory will be accelerated, leading to the end of Oak Ridge as an effective center for atomic research.

✱

THE BOOM IN THE STOCK MARKET WHICH according to past performance ought to have heralded inflation has arrived at last. During the anxious days of 1947, when prices were zooming, people would say, "Well, after all, it can't be so bad, because inflation has not taken hold of Wall Street. The market is falling; perhaps even relief is in sight from the high cost of living." That comfort is no longer with us. The bulls seem to be on stampede. Inflation may still be in its early stages. Obviously, there is more of it coming, what with tax reduction, armament expenditures, and a Republican elephant which has become so inflationary that he looks like a toy balloon. It is wise to remember, however, that the stock market is by no means an infallible barometer. In 1929, it stayed up after everything else had begun to fall. It was late in rising this time, not because stocks were not cheap at the profits being made, but because of vague fear, superstitions, and pseudo-scientific theories for the guidance of the gullible. What the stock market does has less connection with basic economic facts than with the herdlike vagaries of speculators. The market depends, not on what is going to happen, but on what they think—if thinking is the word—is going to happen.

tee have made use of the opportunity to issue a campaign document. They flatly reject the ten-point anti-inflation program recommended, asserting their opposition to "price controls, wage controls, or allocation controls in time of peace." They place the whole blame for inflation on the Administration by condemning it for excessive spending. "Our first recommendation is that government expenditures be reduced."

Apparently the committee overlooks the fact that the decisive influence of governmental fiscal policy lies not so much in the amount it spends as in whether it takes from the people more than it spends. In 1947, when the government had a surplus, its policy was anti-inflationary. The Republicans themselves were almost unanimous in reversing this policy by slashing taxes. If, with their majority, they cannot cut expenditures sufficiently to maintain a surplus with reduced tax receipts, they should not blame the Administration for their failure.

The performance of Congress in the attempt to insure stable employment raises a deeper question. What ought to be an effort of national cooperation in pursuit of aims common to all, and by means of policies depending upon expert, non-political advice, has become a political football. Can a democracy plan? Will not the rivalry of parties and candidates make it impossible to pursue domestically a sound course of action?

Possibly, but the answer must await a longer test. Basic issues cannot be protected against political controversy as long as we wish to avoid a dictatorship. The hope of common sense in the management of our economy rests upon the education of all concerned. The Republicans may temporarily gain by their transparent political maneuver, but in the end we expect their education to be advanced by the inevitable punishment of their folly. When they have elected their own President they cannot blame him for the evil results of the inflation which their present course has perpetuated.

They are now making their record; they must stand or fall on the results. In 1932, they were overwhelmingly repudiated for the control of affairs which they had exercised for twelve years. In the 1920's there was

no Economic Council, no President's Economic Report, no Employment Act. There was no official formulation of policy, against which they explicitly went on record. The existence of these checks in themselves is an advance; assuming Republican victory this fall, the party might be called to account even as early as the Congressional elections of 1950. There is still hope—provided harassed American consumers and the rest of the world can survive until the reckoning comes.

## Moves Toward Peace

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

**H**ARDLY a word in any of the recent pronouncements from Moscow or Washington suggests a softening of hostility or a retreat from positions taken. Yet viewed in perspective, what does the whole series imply if not a movement, still tentative and even reluctant, toward political demobilization? The time has come when sane men on both sides know the dialectic of provocation must end. What they do not know is how to end it without appearing to surrender; how to offer armistice without encouraging the adversary to advance.

But the moment must be seized, for if it passes, perhaps the last good chance to try for peace will have escaped. Earlier would have been too soon for the Americans. Later may be too late for both. The peoples of the world are acutely aware of the danger and the hope of the moment: their anxious joy when the Smith-Molotov notes were published, the disappointment that followed when Washington denied any talks were intended, are emotions no political leader dare ignore. The balance of forces is today at a point where Russia feels obliged to halt its advance but can still do so without admitting defeat, while America has so largely won its objectives in Europe that a refusal to consider Russian overtures would sound like an announcement that war was intended. Sensing this brief and precarious equilibrium, the ordinary man demands that his leaders act.

It is true that Moscow has initiated each official move. It is also true that publication of the exchange of notes between Molotov and the American Ambassador, and Stalin's prompt acceptance of Henry Wallace's proposals as a basis for agreement might be taken as no more than propaganda stunts designed to put our government in the wrong and to elevate both the Soviet leaders and Mr. Wallace. But this interpretation is too glib. Russia needs peace. Its chance of further expansion without war was killed in Prague and buried in Rome. The anti-Communist forces in Western Europe are now in the ascendant, and Washington's influence is stronger than Moscow's. For good or bad, these are facts, and Russia knows them. The moment for Communist revolution and

### What Went Wrong at Bogotá?

While headlines here announced a "Communist uprising" at Bogotá, on the scene of the conference itself Samuel Guy Inman, a veteran of many inter-American gatherings, kept his eyes peeled and a cool head on his shoulders. His first-hand account of the riots differs materially from the accepted version. More important, he dissects the shortcomings of the conference, and explains why United States diplomacy fumbled. His article, *What Went Wrong at Bogotá?*, will appear next week.

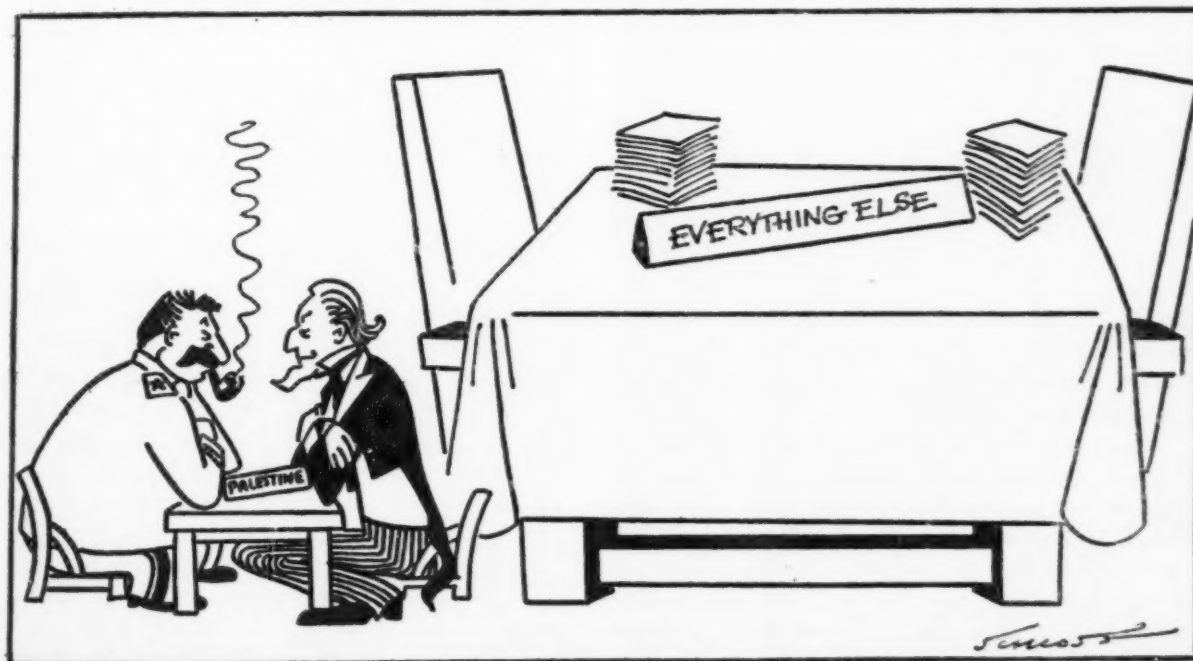
Russian dominance in the West has passed; it will recur only if the recovery program fails or American blundering alienates the non-Communist left in the Western democracies. One can assume, then, that Moscow's peace sorties were seriously meant but were so planned that a rebuff would kick back at the government that administered it.

Washington *has* rebuffed both the Molotov note and Stalin's answer to Wallace. In his statement on the latter exchange, Mr. Marshall describes Moscow's overture as "encouraging." But he rejected the idea of a negotiated settlement along the bilateral lines proposed by Mr. Wallace, and rather stiffly advised the Russians to show their will to peace by changing their attitude in international conferences and at key points of disagreement, such as the control of atomic power. No one could expect Mr. Marshall to accept the Wallace formula, which was in fact heavily weighted in favor of Moscow, but he would have done well to accompany his comments with some suggestion that we might make a few friendly moves ourselves. His failure to do so may mean that the United States is not ready for conciliation, that the State Department, having won the initiative, is determined to push its advantage still farther, regarding Moscow's *démarches* both as signs of weakness and as attempts to confuse and disarm American resistance. I am inclined to think, however, that this is not the case. Even after reading the wearisome iterations of its unchanged policy, I believe the State Department, like the Kremlin—though more warily—is trying to find a base from which to maneuver for agreement.

Except for a few all-or-nothing maniacs who would

chance the very survival of civilized life in order to crush Russia "while there's still time," American government leaders do not want a fighting war. This being so, their problem, like Russia's, becomes one of timing as well as method. They must choose the moment when they think the Moscow tide is turning; and then they must act. To fail to act would be to risk driving the Russians to extreme measures of retaliation to which they still have ample access in many parts of the world. And that would insure war.

If the State Department realizes that such a moment is here—as seems to me probable—current maneuvers will soon begin to crystallize in definite forms. The Wallace demand for an "open, fully reported meeting of representatives of both the United States and the Soviet Union" was certain to be rejected. Nothing could be more futile than another conference at which statesmen would take positions from which they could not later retreat because the eye of the world was fixed upon them. I doubt also the value of over-all talks about differences, even in private. Far more hopeful would be a deliberate Russian-American attempt to come to agreement on specific points at issue, as Mr. del Vayo proposed last week. Such an approach involves concessions by both parties, not only a retreat by Russia. It involves a desire to make peace rather than merely to gain advantages and show up the other side in a villainous light. The change, if it is to come, will be brought about piecemeal and inconspicuously. Not through staged, flood-lit assemblies but through day-to-day negotiations in a hundred normal contacts, will the reality of the recent peace maneuvers be tested.



LOOK UP, MEN!



## POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

### Debate of the Pigmies

INEVITABLY the Stassen-Dewey debate in Portland has been compared to the classic contests between Lincoln and Douglas, with much back-patting in the Republican press about this return to a noble historical tradition. Aside from the physical contrast of the protagonists, however, there was nothing to suggest Lincoln and Douglas in the Portland affair and very little to suggest a debate.

Theoretically the issue was "Should the Communist Party of the United States Be Outlawed?" Stassen was a long while getting to the point, having first to ring in his war record (Dewey didn't serve) and to give the country a quick résumé of his entire campaign platform, full of lofty generalities about "a fair balance between capital and labor," "the rapid development of the Columbia basin," and other glorious irrelevancies. He managed also to include a brief account of how he toured Europe gathering wisdom on international affairs (while Dewey sat in Albany) and even slipped in an ever so innocent reference to the Wisconsin and Nebraska primaries (which Dewey would obviously prefer to forget). In between these diversions he dwelt on the well-known iniquities of the Communists and urged a law to suppress them, since "we do not now have any law to effectively oppose the actions of . . . Communist organizations, either overground or underground."

Dewey stuck much closer to the subject. He made out at least a rhetorical case against driving the Communists underground and stood for prosecuting men "for the crimes they commit but never for the ideas that they have." But he too wandered far afield, with side paragraphs on how "a group of young men"—guess under whose leadership—"delivered the city of New York from the control of organized crime." He slyly referred to the New Jersey primary, in which he bested Mr. Stassen, and he got in, for the second time in this campaign, the utterly indefensible inference that New York's Liberal Party was somehow tied up with the Communists.

What really reduced the entire affair to the level of a phony wrestling match, however, was the essential agreement of the contestants in favor of the Mundt bill. For all his brave assault on "laws outlawing people because of their religious, political, or social, or economic ideas," Dewey pronounced the bill "swell" if constitutional. And he paused in his defense of the Bill of Rights long enough to pay tribute to the House Committee on Un-American Activities for doing a "fine, solid, good

American job," though that body has violated almost every known canon of judicial decency. With Stassen ecstatic about this same Mundt bill, the great debate, to borrow a happy phrase used by Paul Porter in another connection, was clearly a contest between Tweedledum and Tweedledewey.

OSTENSIBLY the Mundt-Nixon bill is designed to force the Communists into the open, and to that objective, I think, only the Communists and their spiritual kin will take exception. But surely a Presidential candidate who flaunts his liberalism might have made an honest analysis of how the measure proposes to achieve its purpose. And surely a candidate who offers to lay down his political life in a new-born passion for the Bill of Rights might have found some of its provisions at least questionable.

The plain truth is that whether or not the Communists should be smoked out—I happen to think they should be—this measure is a monstrosity in terms of the Constitution, in common sense, and in the light of its own declared purpose. It will, as Mr. Stassen says and hopes it will, outlaw the Communist Party, though it specifically disavows this intention. The bill condemns the Communist Party as a conspiratorial group working to subject this country to totalitarianism under control of a foreign nation. It then provides drastic penalties for just this offense. The only sane conclusion from this is that the party is to be outlawed unless it changes its nature entirely—which is precisely like saying that the law against burglary is not intended to outlaw burglars provided they renounce burglary and take up tatting instead. But if the Communists are in effect outlawed, they will, as J. Edgar Hoover, William Z. Foster, and Thomas E. Dewey all agree, go underground. They will infiltrate scores of other organizations as disciplined individuals, or they will emerge en masse as the United Professional and Proletarian Sons of Jefferson, with a constitution as shiny with democratic gewgaws as the constitution of the Soviet Union.

To achieve this remarkable advance, we shall have enacted a bill of attainder substituting Congressional fiat for trial by law. We shall have subjected organizations and individuals to harassment and drastic penalties on the basis of the Attorney General's determination that they are Communist fronts. We shall have discarded the principle, enunciated by the Supreme Court, that "guilt is personal" and does not accrue as the result of association. We shall surely have set a precedent for Congress to place other groups beyond the pale. If a legislative body can single out the Communist Party by name, it can also single out a fascist party, a socialist party, or any other. The reasons can be different, of course, but the reasons will not matter if only there are the necessary votes,



The scandalous haste with which the House jammed through this measure was not hard to understand. Scores of Congressmen can now go home and tell their constituents what they did to save the country from the Communists, who assuredly have not been making themselves popular. The more cynical of those who voted for the bill will know, of course, that between its passage in the House and its ultimate enforcement stand the Senate, a probable Presidential veto, and, if need be, the

Supreme Court. The same thought must have occurred to Messrs. Stassen and Dewey. Good lawyers both, they surely realized the dangers and the unconstitutionality of the measure they praised. If they had the stature they are credited with by their admirers, they would have contributed some much-needed thought to a serious issue and some stringent analysis of a bad bill. But there were no giants at Portland, little or big. This was strictly a debate between pigmies.

## Britain's Stake in an Arab Victory

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

*Lake Success, May 24*

THE mask has finally disappeared and British intention in Palestine stands clearly revealed. If any doubt remained that the British are determined to achieve victory for the Arabs, the performance of Sir Alexander Cadogan last week in the Security Council dissipated the last shred. Not only did he make a successful effort to prevent the council from branding as aggression the open invasion of Palestine by the Arab states, but he adopted the Arab line that the United Nations had no legal right to dispose of the Palestine question—although Britain brought the question to the U. N.—and joined the Arabs in a demand that "the present juridical status of Palestine" be determined. Indeed, Sir Alexander distorted the facts to the extent of charging that the Arab invasion was counterbalanced by Jewish action.

But even more important than this perversion of truth and morality is the open rift between the United Kingdom and the United States. In refusing to support the American demand that the Security Council invoke Article 39 of the Charter and bring about collective action to restore peace in the Holy Land, Britain exposed the undercurrent of rivalry and antagonism which has been increasing since the end of the war. At no time since the issue became acute in 1945 have the United States and the United Kingdom really agreed on Palestine except for the brief interval when the State Department went into retreat and connived with the Foreign Office to destroy partition. What now emerges is the naked desire of Britain to maintain the lifeline of an empire that has largely vanished. To accomplish this the British Foreign Office has been engaged for the past two years in a campaign which would leave it in sole control of the Middle East and make the Indian Ocean the new *Mare Nostrum*. Iraq and Egypt have slipped away. The Palestine mandate, under compulsion of events, has had to be relinquished. But in a desperate effort to retain its title to empire, British strategy maneuvers to dominate the air, land, and sea lanes to the Far East.

Reviewing the record, one sees clearly that the bonds of former comradeship in war and present dependence in peace have not produced any fundamental concessions by Britain to American desires with respect to Palestine. It was the British who refused to accept the unanimous proposals of the Anglo-American Commission. It was the British who turned down President Truman's request in 1946 for the admission to Palestine of 100,000 Jewish refugees. Though the British submitted the Palestine question to the United Nations in 1947, the Foreign Office rejected the majority report of the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine. In the General Assembly session last fall, despite a formal pledge of neutrality, the British used every device to prevent the adoption of the partition resolution. After the session it was the British who engineered the sabotage of partition: they planned the Arab revolt, supplied—and still supply—the Arab states with arms and guidance, exposed the Jewish community of Palestine to attack and Palestine itself to chaos. In the four months which followed the November 29 resolution they succeeded in convincing the State Department anew that partition would open the Middle East to Communist penetration, endanger oil leases, and threaten the security of the Western world—arguments now exposed as false.

Even after partition had been all but formally abandoned by the State Department, the British refused to join the United States in an alternative plan. In the General Assembly they opposed the American suggestion of temporary trusteeship for the whole of Palestine. Behind the scenes they also worked against a temporary trusteeship for Jerusalem. And today they are engaged in a last-ditch fight to keep the Security Council from branding the Arab revolt as an act of aggression.

OBVIOUSLY the British are trying to insure an Arab victory. The reasons for this become evident as one studies their tactics.

Some ten days before the end of the recent special ses-

sion of the General Assembly, and before the unexpected recognition of the state of Israel by the President of the United States, the British were making overtures to the Jews at Lake Success and in Palestine. They were prepared, so they said, to recognize that partition had taken place in exchange for an agreement by the Jews to accept Abdullah as the ruler of Arab Palestine. But at the same moment Foreign Minister Bevin was telling the House of Commons that Britain would continue to arm the Arab states.

On April 28, after King Abdullah had announced his intention to invade Palestine, Bevin still insisted that Britain's treaty obligations, including the training and financing of the Transjordan Arab Legion, would be fulfilled. On May 14 units of the legion were not only still in Palestine, but the British delivered to them three shiploads of arms, ammunition, and gasoline. As late as May 18, when Abdullah himself announced to the Security Council that his legion was operating in Palestine, the British Foreign and Colonial offices stated that Britain would not withdraw British officers, subsidies, or munitions unless the United Nations decided that the Arab Legion was in Palestine illegally (this despite the fact that on April 17 Sir Alexander Cadogan had promised the Security Council that the Arab Legion would be withdrawn from Palestine before the end of the mandate—a promise repeated by Bevin on April 28).

What is behind all this? During the four months between November 29 and April 16 the British government hoped that the Jews would be defeated or suffer sufficient military reverses to make them ready to compromise. In negotiations with the Arab League half a dozen schemes were developed by the British, all of which gave Britain base rights in Haifa and the Negev. One scheme called for the taking over of all Palestine by Abdullah, with the Jews concentrated into a ghetto area extending from Tel Aviv to Athlit. Another would have parceled out Palestine among the Arab states. When rivalries among the Arab League states caused these schemes to collapse, Britain hoped through the special session of the General Assembly to destroy partition, not temporarily but forever, and pave the way for the establishment of a so-called federal state.

The coup de grâce to this endeavor was given, ironically enough, by the small powers in the United Nations—led in the first instance by two British dominions, New Zealand and Australia. The brilliant tactics of the Polish delegate, Juliusz Katz-Suchy, who joined forces with the representatives of Guatemala, Uruguay, Australia, and New Zealand, defeated both trusteeship and British counter-maneuvers and brought the special session to the very moment of the termination of the mandate—May 15—without supplanting the partition resolution. When, within fifteen minutes after the formal end of the mandate, the President of the United States, reversing

State Department policy, announced recognition of the provisional government of the state of Israel, the partition resolution remained the legal authority for the establishment of the Jewish state.

The President's action stripped the British of their pretended "neutrality" and was the signal for an all-out fight in support of the Arabs. Obviously there was no longer any point in trying to negotiate a compromise with the Jews, who were now conceived to be in the orbit of the United States and whose rights under partition had been fully established.

**E**VEN before this the cracks in the Anglo-American Alliance had become plainly visible. On May 12 the United States had called for the appointment of a High Commissioner as the interim authority in Palestine. This proposal was based on a suggestion thrown out by Arthur Creech Jones, the British Colonial Secretary, who had said that setting up a "humble" authority might conserve the assets of Palestine and insure continuation of communal services. But the British were taking no chances. On April 28 a letter marked secret, dealing with the conservation of British assets in Palestine, had been addressed to Dr. Karel Lisicky, chairman of the United Nations Palestine Commission, by Sir Alexander Cadogan. A copy went to Washington and was circulated among officials of the United States government. None the less, when the United States offered its resolution to create a High Commissioner it blandly ignored Britain's desire to have the protection of its assets specifically guaranteed in advance. And the British were furious!

How important these assets are can be gauged from the terms of the letter to Lisicky. Sir Alexander wanted the commission to know *before the mandate ended* that the British demanded the safeguarding of their oil supplies, their commercial interests, and their imports of potash and foodstuffs, mainly citrus and other fruits. Above all they wanted British government assets safeguarded.

In his communication Sir Alexander pointed out that His Majesty's government had both movable and immovable assets in Palestine. Recognizing that it would be impossible to dispose of all immovable property before the mandate ended, he wanted it understood that his government had clear title to dispose of such assets after the termination of the mandate in any way it saw fit. In the matter of movable assets, consisting especially of large quantities of military stores, he asked for assurance that they could ultimately be removed either to Haifa or disposed of locally after August 1, 1948, when the last British troops would be presumed to have left Palestine.

A considerable part of Sir Alexander's letter was devoted to the protection of British oil interests in Palestine, including the pipe line across Palestine to Haifa

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and other assets of the Iraq Petroleum Company, such as mining rights, water projects, occupation of land, and so on. So sure was it of future control that, on April 28, the British government was still talking about building a second pipe line to Haifa from Iraq, an agreement for which had been signed in March, 1948, by the British without prior consultation with the United Nations Commission.

Sir Alexander revealed that the Consolidated Refineries Company is owned entirely by the British, that British interests own 47½ per cent of the Iraq Petroleum Company. He reported further that both companies operate in Palestine under agreements with the government of Palestine which are not due to expire until January, 2001 and October, 2003. Sir Alexander wanted assurance that these agreements would not be affected by the termination of the mandate and that, in addition, the British oil companies would be free to export their petroleum products to such destinations and in such quantities as they might choose, no matter what authority was ultimately established in Palestine. Just recently the British have stopped oil shipments through the Haifa pipe line in order to deprive the Jewish state and the Jewish armies of oil.

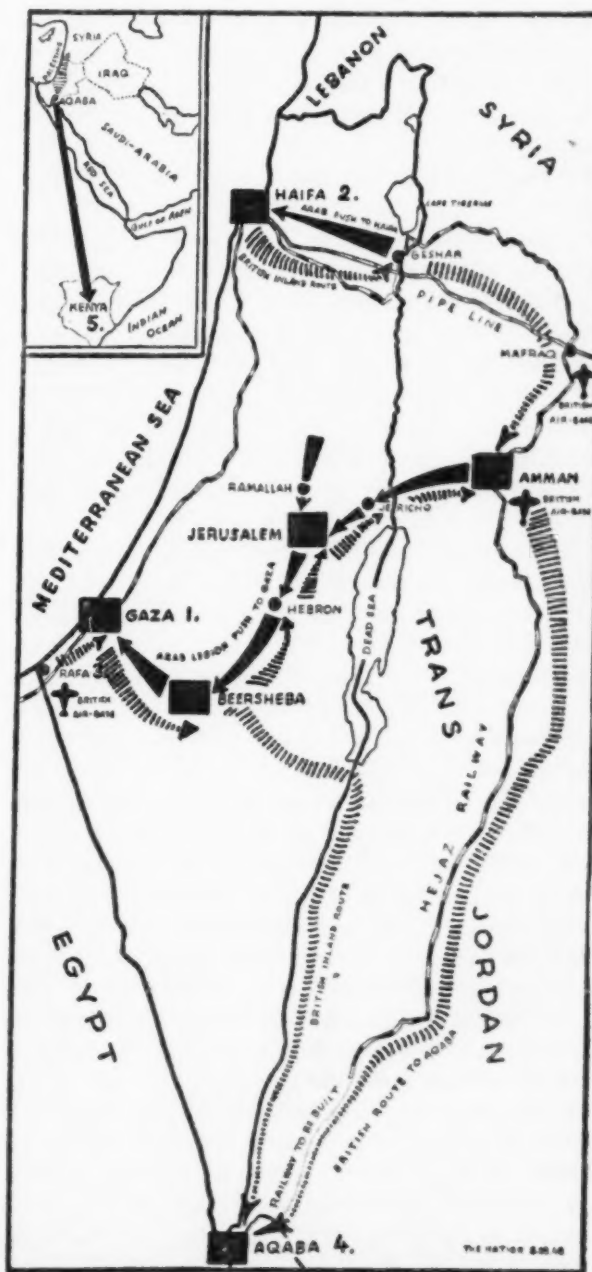
Another matter which concerned the British was the fact that at the end of the mandate they would have no treaty rights in Palestine with respect to commercial undertakings, shipping, or civil aviation. They asked the Palestine Commission to give them assurance in advance that the United Kingdom and Colonial airlines would have operating permits for services to, from, and through Palestine.

A day earlier in another communication, also marked secret, Sir Alexander Cadogan stated that the British would not surrender the assets of the Palestine government until there had been "the unqualified prior acceptance as a charge on the assets of Palestine of (1) all liabilities incurred by the government of Palestine prior to the termination of the mandate on May 15, 1948; (2) responsibility for all expenditures incurred by His Majesty's government after that date for the account of Palestine; and (3) His Majesty's government's liability in respect of the 3 per cent guaranteed stock referred to in paragraph 2-b (1) of Section II of the inclosed statement." Sir Alexander also said that the British government would regard the "movable assets of the government of Palestine as available for disbursement by them to meet any expenditure incurred by His Majesty's government for the account of Palestine after May 15, 1948."

Simultaneously the commission was told that May 15 the cash deficit of the Palestine government would be £7,001,858, to which the British added the sum of £1,995,000 for anticipated disbursements after May 15. Included in these charges were the maintenance costs of

the Cyprus refugee camps and the severance pay of the British civil staff. Thus a surplus of some £50,000,000 in December, 1947, was turned into a deficit of almost £9,000,000 in April, 1948. To make sure they would have enough, the British impounded the funds of the Palestine Currency Board, totaling approximately £50,000,000.

But this secret attempt to nail down, in advance of its departure, all the assets and prerogatives of the control it was about to relinquish was only one aspect of Britain's plan to defend its strategic interests in the Middle East. Having failed to secure strategic control of Palestine by



THE GOALS OF BRITISH STRATEGY IN PALESTINE



peaceful agreement, Britain is now preparing to advance its strategic aims by force, and the Arab Legion is in effect its *Ersatz* army.

**BRITISH** grand strategy is directed to the following goals:

1. A corridor from Iraq and Transjordan to the Mediterranean coast at Gaza. This aim partially explains why units of the Arab Legion have been permitted to remain in Palestine, and why the legion, under the personal command of Glubb Pasha, still an officer of the British army, entered the country at Jericho, and is now attempting to capture Jerusalem and establish an enclave stretching north to Ramallah and south to Hebron. With the Jerusalem enclave as the bridgehead, the legion hopes to open a corridor to Gaza through Hebron and Beersheba. The armies of Egypt have stolen a march on Abdullah and are occupying Gaza. What will happen if and when the Egyptians and the Arab Legion meet is another matter.

This corridor is meant to be a two-way street. It will give the two Hashimite kingdoms of Iraq and Transjordan their long-desired outlet to the Mediterranean. It will give the British an inland route to Transjordan and Iraq. The British are willing to throw the Holy City of Jerusalem to the Arabs partly because it is the bridgehead for this corridor, partly to enable their puppet, Abdullah, to make it the capital of Transjordan and thus enhance his prestige, and partly to restore Britain's waning popularity in the Arab world.

2. The second strategic line which Britain is gambling for includes the port of Haifa, the Haifa pipe line, and the Hejaz Railway, which runs southeast from Haifa to Transjordan, links with Syria, and continues southward through Transjordan to Maani. A forty-mile extension would link it also with Aqaba. Last week the press reported that King Abdullah with his nephew, the Regent of Iraq, led the attack on Gesher, a Jewish village just across the Transjordan border, in itself an unimportant objective. But a glance at the map shows that Gesher is the first village on the road to the port of Haifa. If the Arab Legion can reach Haifa, it will insure British-Arab control of the best seaport on the Mediterranean and of the pipe line extending from Haifa past Gesher to Transjordan; moreover, Haifa is only about forty miles from Transjordan, less than half the distance from Gaza to Transjordan. The Hejaz railway is already controlled by the British and Arabs; the pipe line was turned over to Transjordan a few weeks before the mandate's end.

3. Britain's third objective is control of the Negev. Today the largest British military encampment in Palestine is at Rafa on the Palestine-Egyptian border; 4,000 troops are stationed here, and there are extensive installations. Two months ago the British negotiated a contract with the Arab owners of the land for a twenty-

seven-year lease renewable at three-year intervals. The British have no intention of relinquishing Rafa, which is only a few miles from Gaza. A new British scheme calls for a Rafa-Gaza link through Beersheba to the port of Aqaba, and thus to the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Indian Ocean. For this they need the Negev.

4. Egyptian disaffection has compelled the British to concentrate their armed forces today in the Canal Zone, which is owned by Egypt. In the rapidly developing situation the British can anticipate Egyptian pressure to leave even this area. They are therefore considering a new canal at Aqaba as a possible substitute for the Suez Canal. This would give them direct access to the Red Sea and control of the Indian Ocean.

5. Even if this scheme is not carried out, control of Aqaba means for the British control of a direct route from their new base in Kenya, East Africa, to Gaza and the Mediterranean or to their bases in Transjordan and Iraq. That is why last fall the State Department, at the instance of the British, put strong pressure on the Jewish Agency to yield the Negev and the port of Aqaba. Other considerations were the possibility of establishing British bases in the Negev near the Canal Zone, far from any areas now inhabited, and the belief that there is oil in the Negev.

Britain's determination to control the Negev explains its opposition to any move in the Security Council to declare the Arab states aggressors and to any other action that would end hostilities. If it can bring about an Arab victory, it hopes to be cast in the role of mediator between the Jews and the Arabs; in that case the Negev will be the price it will ask from the Jews for peace and protection within severely controlled boundaries.

**WHETHER** or not the British succeed will depend to an important degree on the vigor with which the United States now moves to protect the state it has recognized. Previous State Department connivance with the Foreign Office has given Britain reason to hope that American recognition of the state of Israel may be merely a political gesture. But it is hardly conceivable that the President of the United States will now permit the British government or the states it influences to carry out a Machiavellian scheme which undermines not simply American interests in the Middle East but, much more important, peace and morality.

Recognition must now be supported by (1) arming of Haganah; (2) a continued arms embargo against the Arab states; (3) a reprimand to the British, backed by appropriate penalties which Washington is in a position to impose; (4) an unrelenting effort to bring about action by the Security Council against the Arab states as aggressors. This is the kind of action that talks. And it would be talk that the British and Arabs would understand.

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# A Right Secured

BY LOREN MILLER

**W**HEN the United States Supreme Court, on May 3, held that judicial enforcement of agreements barring the sale of land to, or its occupancy by, Negroes violated the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, it knocked the last legal props from under residential segregation. The decision put the finishing touches on a job begun in 1917 when the court decided that segregation laws or ordinances violated the due-process clause of the same amendment. However, Chief Justice Vinson, who wrote the opinion, was careful to point out that "so long as the purposes of those agreements are effectuated by voluntary adherence to their terms it would appear that . . . the provisions of the amendment have not been violated." Proponents of segregation are already engaging in vigorous campaigns to induce property owners to abide by the terms of existing restrictive covenants and, indeed, to enter into new agreements of like character with provisions for damages against violators.

At present the major metropolitan areas in the North and West, particularly suburban developments, are pretty thoroughly covered by race-restrictive covenants. State trial courts, backed by appellate-court decisions in sixteen states and the District of Columbia, have been enforcing them since 1915, and the Supreme Court itself, in a 1926 decision that was "distinguished away"—that is, differentiated from the present case—by Chief Justice Vinson on technical grounds, at least said, without making this the crux of its decision, that judicial enforcement did not run afoul of constitutional guaranties. Moreover, the federal government through FHA furnished a model race-restrictive clause for builders and subdividers from 1935 to 1947, and during that period the FHA refused to guarantee home-construction loans unless race restrictions were inserted in subdivision deeds. Racial covenants became a fashion, almost a passion, in conveyancing, and were demanded by banks and lending institutions in all real-estate developments.

It would be folly to expect an overnight reversal of social attitudes implemented by court decisions and rooted in custom. The importance of the recent deci-

sion from a practical standpoint is that it admits Negroes and members of other proscribed groups to the open housing market from which they have been excluded for three decades. That exclusion was onerous because it forced the Negro buyer or renter to pay whatever price was exacted in an artificial seller's market. The Negro buyer can now drive a sharper bargain, and one of the immediate results may well be a decline in property prices in defined Negro neighborhoods.

However, real-estate speculators, by playing on existing antipathies, will still be able to exact premium prices when Negroes seek property outside those neighborhoods. Such premiums will undoubtedly be lower in communities adjacent to Negro neighborhoods, and expansion will occur there first. Well-to-do middle-class Negroes will certainly begin to seek homes in preferred residential districts, and by overbidding the market will just as surely find willing sellers. The present tendency of white home owners to flee from communities when a Negro moves in will diminish as such home owners come to understand that there are no "safe" districts. This, combined with the natural desire of Negro workers to find dwellings close to their places of employment, will gradually create a pattern of integrated living. The tempo of that tendency will depend on many factors, such as the earning power of the middle class, the creation of job opportunities for workers, the success or failure of damage suits against violators of agreements, and the willingness of law-enforcement authorities to protect the venturesome Negro home buyer from the sporadic violence that will occur here and there.

**Q**UITE apart from the practical consequences, the decision is a landmark in constitutional law. To begin with, the court underscored the proposition, implicit in the 1917 segregation-ordinance case, that "among the civil rights intended to be protected from discriminatory state action by the Fourteenth Amendment are the rights to acquire, enjoy, own, and dispose of property." Obviously no person can be secure in a private-property economy unless that complex of rights is recognized and protected. Proponents of race-restrictive covenants had always contended—successfully in the state courts—that judicial enforcement of covenants was beyond the reach of the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. They rested their contention on the language of the amendment, which provides that no

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state shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Construing that and related clauses in the Civil Rights cases in 1883, the Supreme Court held that the Fourteenth Amendment did not protect the Negro from an "individual invasion of individual rights" and that he could claim constitutional protection only when the state acted to deprive him of a civil right. While proclaiming adherence to this principle, the court neatly turned the Civil Rights cases against those seeking to uphold covenants by pointing out that the decision exempts individual action from constitutional inhibitions only when the individual is able to work the discrimination without calling on the state for aid. It then went on to point out that it had long been recognized that judicial action in such matters as jury selection, maintenance of a fair trial, and the like is state action within the meaning of the amendment.

However, none of the cases had ever held or intimated that the action of a state court in construing a private contract, such as a restrictive agreement, and giving effect to its terms was *state action*. It was here that the court took its boldest step. "It is clear," it said, "that but for the active intervention of the state courts, supported by the full panoply of state power, petitioners [Negroes] would have been free to occupy the properties in question without restraint. These are not cases . . . in which the states have merely abstained from action, leaving private individuals free to impose such discriminations as they see fit. Rather, these are cases in which the states have made available to such individuals the full coercive power of government to deny to petitioners, on the grounds of race or color, the enjoyment of property rights."

That unequivocal language leaves no room to doubt that state courts may not, under the guise of enforcing private contracts in this or any other field, construe state laws in such a manner as to deny civil rights on the basis of race or color. The same result was reached for the District of Columbia by holding that although the Fourteenth Amendment is inapplicable, a federal statute forbids judicial enforcement of racial covenants. The court's attitude also negatives the suggestion made in some quarters that its decision does not apply to restrictive agreements of this character based on religion rather than on race.\*

The question of whether a damage action would lie against a signer who violated his agreement not to sell to Negroes was not involved, but the assertion that "the Constitution confers upon no individual the right to demand action by the state which results in the denial of equal protection to other individuals" would seem to

\* The application of restrictive covenants against Jews is discussed on page 614 in a letter from Joseph B. Robison of the Commission on Law and Social Progress of the American Jewish Congress.—EDITORS THE NATION,

prevent individuals from demanding that the courts levy a penalty on another individual who had exercised his right to sell his property to whomsoever he chose.

THE successful termination of the long battle against racial covenants illustrates both the weakness and the strength of a political democracy, its weakness because the courts were so laggard in protecting a civil right that the highest court in the nation says has existed since 1868, its strength because a disadvantaged minority was finally able to vindicate that right. The manner of that vindication deserves a word of comment. The N. A. A. C. P., which spearheaded the struggle, began its opposition thirty years ago, but the question became less acute during the depression years as Negro migration to Northern and Western cities died down. The war brought both an acute housing shortage and a flood of Negro war workers to urban centers. Coincidentally war preparations and war boosted the income of the Negro middle class. The war workers had to find living space somewhere, and the middle class began to look around for better homes. The result was wholesale violations of racial covenants and a vigorous counter-attack. A staggering number of lawsuits were brought—approximately two hundred were filed in Los Angeles in a four-year period, and other cities had much the same experience.

As a crisis neared, the N. A. A. C. P. called a meeting of its national legal committee in Chicago in 1944, and plans were made for a Supreme Court test of the issue. The success of the litigation is proof enough of the soundness of the legal strategy. It was also decided to fight a battle for public opinion on the ground that the issue was a critical test of democracy. The fact that Attorney General Tom Clark filed a brief in behalf of the Negro litigants and Solicitor General Perlman argued their case gives a prospect of success in that field. Also indicative is the fact that two dozen other briefs protesting against continued judicial enforcement of covenants were filed by such diverse groups as the A. F. of L., C. I. O., American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, American Association for United Nations, Council of Protestant Churches, and various civil-liberties organizations.

This widespread public support is important, for now that the legal basis of residential segregation has been destroyed, the job of educating Americans to live together without strife and without reference to race rests on the very groups that filed supporting briefs in the Supreme Court. If they believe that the ghetto is the evil proclaimed in their briefs they should set about their educational task without delay. The legal victory will prove a hollow triumph unless the battle against residential segregation is also won in the field of public opinion.

# The Catholic Church and Democracy

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

## I

**B**ACK in the days of the most virulent anti-Catholic bigotry, when "the Menace" was a national institution and candidates for public office openly reviled the pope, one dramatic question was frequently asked at anti-Catholic mass-meetings: "What will become of American democracy if the United States is captured by the Papists?" That last word was usually hissed or whispered in a way to make shivers run up and down the spine.

The question was a great deal more reasonable than its source. In fact, the bigoted character of the source has tended to divert attention from a valid and important question. Many American liberals have been deterred from an honest analysis of the implications of Catholic rule by fear of being associated with A. P. A. fanatics. Their sentimental tolerance has allowed the Catholic hierarchy, unchallenged, systematically to cultivate separatism and intolerance among American Catholics.

Recent developments in Europe and Latin America suggest that the future role of the Roman Catholic church in American politics should be reexamined with some care. What *would* happen to American democracy if our estimated 25,000,000 Catholics grew to a majority in the population and followed the direction of their priests? Suppose that on some magic carpet of time we could pass over the next century and find ourselves in a predominantly Catholic America. What would American democracy look like?

The democratic *form* of our leading institutions might not be altered very much. Probably the most striking effect of Catholic control would be apparent in the spirit of those institutions and the use to which they would be put. The Catholic hierarchy is perfectly willing to compromise with democratic forms of government so long as its own special areas of power are respected. As Leo XIII said graciously in his encyclical on Human Liberty, "it is not of itself wrong to prefer a democratic form of government, if only the Catholic doctrine be maintained as to the origin and exercise of power." Under that doctrine the principal institutions of American democracy might be permitted to continue but would be operated for Catholic objectives.

*This is the first part of Mr. Blanshard's final article on the Roman Catholic church. The series will be concluded next week.*

The most striking and immediate result of Catholic ascendancy in our democracy would be the transfer of control of education, religion, and family relationships to the Catholic hierarchy. This transfer could be accomplished by three comprehensive amendments to the United States Constitution. Let us draft them in outline.

The first Catholic amendment to the Constitution might be called for educational purposes the Christian Commonwealth Amendment. It would include all the following statements: (1) The United States is a Catholic republic; (2) the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion is the sole religion of the nation; (3) the authority of the Roman Catholic church is the most exalted of all authorities; it cannot be looked upon as inferior to the power of the United States government or in any manner dependent upon it; (4) priests and members of religious orders of the Roman Catholic church who violate the law are to be tried by an ecclesiastical court of the Roman Catholic church, and may only with the consent of the competent Catholic authority be tried by the courts of the United States or the states; (5) apostate priests or those incurring the censure of the Roman Catholic church may not be employed in any teaching post or any office or employment in which they have immediate contact with the public; (6) freedom of worship is permitted to non-Catholic faiths, but public ceremonies and manifestations other than those of the Roman Catholic religion will not be permitted; (7) the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

The second Catholic amendment to the Constitution of the United States might well be described for propaganda purposes as the Christian Education Amendment. It would read: (1) American education belongs preeminently to the Roman Catholic church, by reason of a double title in the supernatural order conferred exclusively upon her by God Himself; (2) the Roman Catholic church has the inalienable right to supervise the entire education of her children in all educational institutions in the United States, public or private, not merely in regard to the religious instruction given in such institutions but in regard to every other branch of learning and every regulation in so far as religion and morality are concerned; (3) compulsory education in public schools exclusively shall be unlawful in any state in the union; (4) it shall be unlawful for any neutral or non-Catholic school to enrol any Catholic child without obtaining the written permission of the appropriate Catholic authority;



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**1 World-wide, the need for oil surpassed all records.** To help meet the need, crude oil production by Jersey Company affiliates was increased 8% over 1946, setting another new record. Their production was 14% of the world's total for the year.

**2 In the U.S., too, the need was at record levels.** Three million more cars to fuel than pre-war; twice as many tractors and trucks on farms; a million and a half more oil-heated homes; five times as many diesel locomotives. Total U.S. consumption of oil products was 11% greater than 1946, 12% greater even than the peak war year. In meeting this need, we set new output records month after month, accounting for 9% of U.S. total crude oil.

**3 The unusually hard winter made heating oil and kerosene supply a special problem.** By extraordinary effort in refineries and hard work and long hours by people all along the line, we were able to deliver about 25% more of these products than in the winter before.

**4 With such big demand, big supply, and rising prices, money came in—and was paid out—in all-time record figures.** Total dollar income reached \$2,387,000,000—45% over 1946. Operating charges and other deductions from income reached \$2,118,040,000—44% over 1946. A record sum of \$466,954,000 was paid to our employees.

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**5 Net consolidated earnings** of the Company and affiliates — \$269,000,000 — equalled \$9.83 per share, or 11.3% of total income as compared to 10.8% in 1946. Dividends of \$4.00 per share were paid by the parent Company.

**6 Most important dollar figure of the year** was the 426 million dollars spent for new wells, plants, tankers, pipelines and all the other things it takes to get the oil you need. Part of a billion dollar program covering the two years 1947-48, it was by far the greatest capital investment we have ever faced. The money came almost entirely from earnings, past and current — money made on the job went back into the job.

**7 Transportation of oil was a big job.** During the year, we bought 23 ocean-going tankers from the U.S. Maritime Commission, and early this year we ordered 6 new 26,000-ton, 16-knot ships, the largest we ever operated. Pipelines were pushed to new records — our trunk lines delivering 83 billion barrel-miles, or 11 billion more than in 1946.

**8 In discovering new oil,** we spent 5 times as much as pre-war — 16% more than last year. (Altogether, the country's known oil reserves were increased by 600 million barrels during the year, in spite of record consumption.)

**9 Cost of research also increased** — \$18,200,000 was spent for new knowledge. Considerable progress was made in finding more efficient and

lower-cost processes for making gasoline and other liquid fuels synthetically from natural gas, oil shale, and coal.

**10 Labor-management relations** remained excellent, continuing our exceptional record of industrial harmony. Employee compensation was adjusted upward during the year to help meet rising living costs. A total of \$55,396,000 was saved in employee Thrift Plans, of which \$20,987,000 was saved by employees and \$34,409,000 contributed by the Company and its affiliates.

**THE 1947 JOB WAS A BIG ONE.** The jobs ahead are bigger still. In a democracy the responsibility for making a better world rests with the individual and the individual enterprise. It is clear that an enterprise like Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) must exercise a full realization of the social responsibilities of profit — must understand that the peace, advancement, and the security of the people of the world are the best guarantee of the Company's own progress and security. We intend now, as always, to demonstrate in action that the free, competitive American enterprise system is far superior to any other. We believe that the Company and its affiliates are so organized, and their business so conducted, that they will continue to serve people well.

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*Copies of the full report are available on request. Address Room 1626, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y. The earnings statement in this report satisfies the provisions of Section 11 (A) of the Securities Act of 1933.*

(5) since neutral schools are contrary to the fundamental principles of education, public schools in the United States are lawful only when both religious instruction and every other subject taught are permeated with Catholic piety; (6) the governments of the United States and of the states are permitted to operate their own schools for military and civic training without supervision by the Roman Catholic church, provided they do not injure the rights of the said church; (7) with due regard to special circumstances, coeducation shall be unlawful in any educational institution in the United States whose students have attained the age of adolescence; (8) the governments of the United States and the states shall encourage and assist the Roman Catholic church by appropriate measures in the exercise of the church's supreme mission as educator.

The third Catholic amendment to the Constitution of the United States might be called the Christian Family Amendment, although in the campaign for its adoption the sanctity of womanhood and the defeat of communism would doubtless play a major part. The amendment would read: (1) The government of the United States, desirous of restoring to the institution of matrimony, which is the basis of the family, a dignity conformable to the traditions of its people, assigns as civil effects of the sacrament of matrimony all that is attributed to it in the canon law of the Roman Catholic church; (2) no matrimonial contract in the United States which involves a baptized Catholic can be valid unless it is in accordance with the canon law of the Roman Catholic church; (3) marriages of non-Catholics are permitted, and are subject to the civil authority of the states, but all civil laws which contradict the canon law of the Roman Catholic church on marriage are hereby declared null and void; (4) all consummated and valid Catholic marriages are indissoluble, and the divorce of all persons is prohibited throughout the territory of the United States, provided that nothing herein shall affect the right of separation and remarriage if permitted by the canon law of the Roman Catholic church; (5) attempted mixed marriages or unions between members of the Roman Catholic church and non-Catholics are null and void, and the children of such unions are illegitimate, unless the union is approved in writing by the Ordinary of the Catholic party to the union; (6) birth control or any act which deliberately frustrates the natural power to generate life is a crime; (7) direct abortion is murder of the innocent even when performed through motives of misguided pity when the life of a mother is gravely imperiled; (8) sterilization of any human being is forbidden except as an infliction of grave punishment under the authority of the government for a crime committed.

I remember a verse from Job which is appropriate at this moment: "If I justify myself, mine own mouth

shall condemn me." That is meant for Catholic liberals whose temperature has been rising while they have been reading these three amendments. As most of my readers have doubtless guessed, there is not an original thought and scarcely an original word in my entire three Catholic amendments. They are mosaics of official Catholic doctrine. *Every concept and almost every word and phrase have been plagiarized line by line from Catholic documents.*

The most important phrases are derived from the highest documents of Catholicism, the encyclicals of the popes. The provisions on education come from Pius XI's "Christian Education of Youth," and those on family life from his "Casti Connubii," both of them accepted universally in the Catholic church as the bibles of present-day educational and family policy. A few provisions are taken directly from canon law, the recent laws of Catholic countries like Spain, and the 1929 Concordat between Mussolini and the Vatican, all of which have been publicly approved by Catholic authorities. Only place names and enabling clauses have been added to give the papal principles local application.

**B**EHIND these three amendments lies a philosophy of church and state which is extremely simple, arrogant, and medieval. Al Smith misstated it again and again in the campaign of 1928, and the American hierarchy kept silent about his misstatements because of the terrific repercussions which would have resulted from repudiation.

The Catholic theory of political power is a naive variation of the medieval doctrine of the divine right of kings. "The origin of public power," said Leo XIII, "is to be sought for in God Himself and not in the multitude. . . ." The divine authority of the church is paramount in its own sphere because the church is God's vicegerent on earth. The authority of the state comes next, and is secondary. The authority of parents is recognized so long as they are obedient to the church (the priests). If parents defy the church (the priests), they are mortal sinners.

In particular areas the authority of the church is superior to that of the United States government and all governments, and no government has the right to challenge it. The pope is a kind of special world monarch, operating as ruler of a synthetic moral empire which overlaps and penetrates the sovereignty of all earthly governments. His special territory is religion, education, and family life, but he also has supreme power over a vaguely defined area known as "morals," and he has special powers over any matter which may affect the life of the church directly. The state has supreme power in military matters, the punishment of crime (except of priests), the collection of taxes, and the preservation of law and order. This explains why priests tell their people

to obey their governments in time of war, even when Catholics are called upon to kill Catholics for no apparently good reason.

Leo XIII gave classic expression to the Catholic theory of church and state in his "Christian Constitution of States":

The Almighty, therefore, has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the one being set over divine, and the other over human beings. Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits which are defined by the nature and special object of the province of each, so that there is, we may say, an orbit traced out within which the action of each is brought into play by its own native right.

Of course the joker in this completely unrealistic ukase is that if there is a dispute between the church and the state over the right to rule any specific area, the church and the church alone has the right to decide who rules what. And "the church" means Rome, not the American Catholic people or even the American Catholic bishops. "In cases of direct contradiction," says the "Catholic Encyclopedia" blandly, "making it impossible for both jurisdictions to be exercised, the jurisdiction of the church prevails and that of the state is excluded." And just to make sure that the scope of the church's claims will not be curtailed by the modern welfare state, Pius XI in his "Reconstructing the Social Order" has declared that "it is Our right and Our duty to deal authoritatively with social and economic problems. . . . For the deposit of truth intrusted to Us by God and Our weighty office of propagating, interpreting, and urging in season and out of season the entire moral law demand that both social and economic questions be brought within Our supreme jurisdiction, in so far as they refer to moral issues." Hence, cremation, the Odd Fellows, socialism, birth control, Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason," therapeutic abortion, and "Forever Amber" are brought within the scope of the primary authority of the church instead of the state—and they are all condemned.

American Catholic bishops adroitly avoid this challenge to American governmental power wherever possible and pretend with Leo XIII that there can be a natural "orbit" for both church and state with clearly "fixed limits." That is why most Catholic arguments on church and state seem to non-Catholics utterly confused or hypocritical. The Catholic bishop who discusses church and state has a ready-made world from which he draws his definitions. The words "church and state" do not mean the same thing to him that they mean to non-Catholics. He begins by including in the concept "church" large areas of political, social, and educational life which the non-Catholic regards as part of the normal sphere of democracy. The bishop, *after* he has included these special ecclesiastical preserves in his picture of his church, can

honestly say that he believes in some separation of church and state *from that point forward*.

The present administrative leader of American Catholicism, Archbishop McNicholas of Cincinnati, said in January in a ringing attack on Protestants and Other Americans United: "We deny absolutely and without any qualification that the Catholic bishops of the United States are seeking a union of church and state by any endeavors whatsoever, either proximate or remote." In the same statement Archbishop McNicholas indicated his belief in support for parochial schools by all taxpayers and described the pope as "the ruler of a sovereign state." That was not "union" of church and state proximate or remote, or ecclesiastical double-talk, in his eyes. It was the political science of Leo XIII transferred to the American environment without quotation marks.

Al Smith to the contrary, American Catholics are instructed by their hierarchy to defy the United States government and all governments when "the rights," meaning the basic policies and preserves, of the church are attacked. The word "defy" is not contained in the encyclicals, but the directives are unmistakable. In *The Nation* of November 8 I quoted Father Francis J. Connell's instruction to American Catholic judges that "no circumstances can justify" a Catholic judge in enforcing our sterilization laws for the feeble-minded. That was not just the casual dictum of an isolated priest; Pius XI gave the same directive in "Casti Connubii":

Public magistrates have no direct power over the bodies of their subjects; therefore, where no crime has taken place and there is no cause present for grave punishment, they can never directly harm or tamper with the integrity of the body, either for the reasons of eugenics or for any other reason.

It should be noted that Pius XI here entered the area of jurisdiction of an American court and said explicitly that public magistrates "can never" perform certain acts which he condemned. His edict was not advisory or homiletic. It was an assertion of sovereignty over United States and all other courts in respect to this area of power.

Pius was equally explicit in his defiance of any potential law of the United States which might establish compulsory public-school education. Quoting the Supreme Court's 1922 decision in the Oregon case, he said in his "Christian Education of Youth," "Unjust and unlawful is any monopoly, educational or scholastic, which physically or morally forces families to make use of government schools." Hilaire Belloc stated the full implications of papal doctrine on this point in "The Contrast," p. 166:

It has already been proposed and may at any time become law in certain parts of the United States that a parent should be forbidden to send his child to any but one particular type of school agreeable to the state, and shall be compelled to send his child to that school.



The state here affirms the doctrine and practice that a certain religious atmosphere is, or should be, universal to the human race, or at any rate to all its citizens, which religious atmosphere is other than Catholic. Such a law no Catholic would obey, for by Catholic definition it is the parent who should decide upon the education of the child, not the state.

Belloc is frank enough to admit that such a philosophy of church and state is bound to result in a fundamental conflict between the Catholic church and the American government. "The Catholic church," he says, "is in its root principles at issue with the civic definition both of freedom and authority," and he predicts that between the two conceptions of authority a struggle is coming that "will seem monstrous."

## Summer Study Tours

BY HORACE SUTTON

**P**OLITICAL weather permitting, 6,000 students, the greatest exodus in recent years, are expected to sail for foreign ports this summer to enrol in universities and study tours. Low-cost transportation for a large number of them will be provided by four ships which, it was recently announced, will be placed in student-exchange service—the American Marine Tiger and Marine Shark, which were on similar duty last summer, and the Dutch Kota Inten and Tabinta.

The American vessels will make four round trips from New York to Plymouth, Le Havre, and Oslo beginning June 3, and the Dutch will make one crossing each from Quebec to Rotterdam. Students sailing to Holland will be returned aboard the Volendam. Applications are being handled by the Institute of International Education, 2 West Forty-fifth Street, New York.

In Great Britain courses are offered to Americans at the universities of London, Oxford, Leeds, Birmingham, Nottingham, and St. Andrews. A pleasant way of learning about the British Labor Party has been developed by the Fabian Society, which has prepared a series of one-week programs. Students are billeted in large country houses, where they hear lectures in the morning and swim or play tennis in the afternoon. After tea discussion groups meet, and in the evening there may be anything from a debate to a dance. A typical program, according to the announcement, includes lectures by J. B. Priestley, Harold Laski, and various members of Parliament. Single rooms cost six pounds, five shillings a week. Inquiries may be directed to the Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, Westminster, London, S. W. I.

*HORACE SUTTON'S suggestions for travel "off the beaten track" appear frequently in The Nation.*

In France the Sorbonne, the universities of Grenoble and Tours, and schools at Fontainebleau and Pau have prepared summer courses for foreign students. The Grenoble slogan is "Learn French While Visiting the Alps," and the university runs an interesting series of student tours. Any foreign student in France seeking an inexpensive vacation hotel may apply to the Chalet International des Etudiants, a delightful Alpine lodge at Combloux, near the fashionable resort of Mégève. The cost is about \$4 a day. The chalet plans informal community activities and picnics, and all the rooms have balconies with a view of the mountains.

Heidelberg, Marburg, and Munich universities expect Americans this summer, and at Salzburg, in the American zone of Austria, courses in the German language and German history will be offered to English-speaking students. An extensive program has also been announced by the famous International People's College at Elsinore, Denmark.

For those who prefer to have their travel arrangements handled for them, Columbia University Travel Service has planned twenty-seven packaged trips known as World Study Tours. One typical French tour is a forty-six-day excursion starting in Normandy and winding down to the Riviera, then across the Alps to Annecy and back to Paris. The total cost, New York to New York, tourist class, is \$785. A ninety-seven-day trip to study "Social Change in Europe" will take a student party through virtually every European country at a total cost of \$1,525. One group will visit psychology clinics and laboratories in Paris, Edinburgh, Geneva, Prague, and Brussels and attend the Mental Health Congress in London. The most expensive World Study Tour will be from San Francisco westward across the Pacific to Hawaii, New Zealand, and Australia. Forty-six days will be spent abroad at a cost of nearly \$2,000 per person. A trip through the Tennessee Valley will cost \$290; one to Canada for social study, \$199. All tours have educators and experienced travelers as leaders.

The Cooperative League, 23 West Forty-fifth Street, New York, has announced four tours for this summer, two foreign and two domestic, for persons interested in studying cooperative methods. A trip through the cooperatives of Britain leaves New York on the Queen Elizabeth, August 11, and costs \$900; a similar tour of Scandinavia sails aboard the new motorship Stockholm on July 28 and costs \$985. The first co-op tour of Nova Scotia since the war starts from Boston by boat August 13. The price, not including meals aboard ship, will be about \$250. A United States-Canadian co-op tour, offered for \$200, will inspect cooperative dairy enterprises in Wisconsin and Minnesota, the world's first cooperative refinery in Regina, Saskatchewan, the wheat-pool operations in Saskatchewan, and a Mennonite co-op venture in Manitoba. The party will travel by bus.



## Del Vayo—"Squaring the Circle"

Paris, May 15

THE press stories gave no real idea of the excitement here when news came of the exchange of notes between Bedell Smith and Molotov. The next day Secretary Marshall poured a little water on the flames, taking care not to extinguish altogether the hopes aroused by the Moscow announcement. I spent the twenty-four hours between the two events listening to various European radio stations and talking with more Frenchmen and other Europeans than I would have thought possible in so short a time. It was impressive to discover all over again how deep-rooted is the European's craving for peace.

The popular reaction was so intense that Léon Blum, who is extraordinarily sensitive to public trends when he is not in one of his more mystical moods, interrupted a series of articles on the Churchill memoirs to discuss the chance of reconciliation. He reminded his readers of words he had written a short time before: "I continue to hope that an accord between the United States and the Soviet Union is still possible. If that happened, it would change everything. The slightest gesture of friendship from Moscow would immediately break the present tension." On learning of Marshall's reluctance to enter into immediate negotiations, the French leader vigorously urged that the United States and Russia should begin discussions even if at first no other country participated. I quote Blum because it is generally thought that he is mainly responsible for the anti-communism that has animated French Socialist policy for more than a year. Among French political figures he is unquestionably one of those least suspect of Stalinist sympathies. But Blum knows that the Socialist Party cannot allow itself to adopt the position of Marceau Pivert, the Eugene Lyons of France, whose hatred of Russia and Communists is such that if it came to a showdown he might favor war against the Soviet Union. If the party took that stand, it would surely be wiped out at the next elections. The people of France want peace, and they greeted the news from Moscow with an outburst of enthusiasm.

Rejoicing was more tempered among French experts on Germany, who refer to the problem as one of "squaring the circle." The description is fully justified. In the current London talks the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Britain, France, and the Benelux countries ran into almost insuperable difficulties the moment they moved from the general to the specific phases of a German settlement. Since the Prague coup the consolidation of Western Europe has progressed swiftly; nations which formerly spent months debating each detail of proposed economic, military, or political treaties now reach agreement in a matter of days. Indeed, the Brussels pact established a new diplomatic speed record. At London, on the contrary, the delegates clashed so violently last week that had it not been for their common obsession about the Russian menace the conference would have adjourned *sine die*.

The French understand why America and Britain are anxious to end the present state of affairs in Germany. Their combined zone is operating at a huge deficit, and it is obvious that the American taxpayer is not willing to go on indefinitely paying the costs of the German débâcle. They realize, too, that for London and Washington other considerations impose a quick decision: a restored German economy will facilitate Europe's return to normal under E. R. P.; the present economic administration of Bizonia is wholly inefficient and must be replaced by a more stable apparatus; and, finally, Germany is not only a source of potential wealth but a reservoir of man-power in case the plan for a coordinated Western European army materializes. For all these reasons—of peace and war, of reconstruction and rearmament—the French try to take an understanding view of the Anglo-American proposal for a single western German government.

Yet in the light of a broader experience than either of its partners France is terribly afraid of a new central government and does not share Anglo-American illusions about the democratization of Germany. Nor was it reassured by the last elections, in which an openly Nazi party registered an impressive vote. Meanwhile the Pope's recent overtures toward Germany have awakened fresh suspicion on the left.

France would prefer a loose federation of existing German states. But while the federal idea may relieve French fears, it holds less attraction for other Europeans who hope that a progressive Germany will ultimately emerge. Among Germans federalism is the favored creed of many reactionaries. Dr. Ehard, an influential leader of the Bavarian Social Christian Union, and his pro-federalist followers who have been meeting for several months past in the Schöenberg convent have just prepared an outline of a federal constitution whose principal aim is to "bar the road to Socialist ideology." British Labor, on the other hand, supports the German Social Democrats, who have a strong hold in the north, where labor favors a united, centralized state. Thus France finds itself in conflict with both the Americans and the British—and also with certain right-wing Germans. Washington and London concede that the French view may be realistic, but they join in denouncing it as fatally negative. France remains unconvinced, and its negotiators realize that acceptance of the Anglo-American plan would mean a bitter fight in the French government and Parliament.

Even if the three powers were to reach an agreement on the creation of a German government in Frankfurt, they would still have to contend with the popular campaign in favor of a united Germany now being carried on intensively in the Russian zone in anticipation of the German Unity Congress which will convene at Berlin early in June under the auspices of the Socialist Unity Party. For the problem of Germany cannot be solved in Bizonia alone; it will take a conference of all four powers to "square the circle." And the necessary step in this direction is a Russian-American understanding.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## Stilwell and Chiang Kai-shek

*THE STILWELL PAPERS.* By General Joseph W. Stilwell. Edited and Arranged by Theodore H. White. William Sloane Associates. \$4.

ADMINISTRATORS of American aid to China can now read the intimate thoughts of their chief predecessor, General Joseph W. Stilwell, who was in charge of the biggest investment the American people ever made in Asia. Stilwell represented American interests in China from early 1942 to late 1944. As Chiang Kai-shek's chief of staff he commanded the Chinese troops in the Burma collapse, from which he emerged on foot with the famous remark, "I claim we got a hell of a beating." With minimum support and to the amazement of critics, he trained a Chinese striking force in India in 1943 and retook North Burma in 1944. For two years and eight months, shuttling between Chungking, Delhi, and the front, he battled his way through the conflicts of the American, British, and Chinese high commands to promote his view of the war effort in the China-Burma-India theater, and finally was made a four-star general, only to be recalled by President Roosevelt on the demand of Chiang Kai-shek.

The significance of this amazing and colorful story is heightened by the publication of "The Stilwell Papers," a narrative of diary notes and home letters skilfully edited by a top war correspondent of the CBI theater, Theodore H. White. Mr. White's brief introductions and identifications make Stilwell's cryptic jottings intelligible to the American reader and leave us to judge from Stilwell's own words what kind of man he was, what he wanted to do, and why he was recalled.

The theme of this book is Stilwell's struggle to get Chiang Kai-shek to put the war first and politics second. The rivalry and jealousy between the American theater headquarters and the Fourteenth Air Force under Chennault, and between headquarters and the "Limeys" under Wavell or Mountbatten, are minor affrays, similar to problems of

command in any theater. War leaders are strong personalities, and their personal struggles form the inside story of any war, particularly a war of coalitions.

But between Stilwell and Chiang the battle was something more than personal. They represented entirely antithetical ways of thought and action. Few commanders could have been found with more "American" virtues than "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell. He hated sham, stuffed shirts, paper work, inactivity, and dishonesty of any kind. He tried to be absolutely honest, with himself and with others. He had a passionate urge to get action and results—for example, against Japan. At sixty he walked seventeen and twenty miles in a day, visited front-line command posts under fire, and gave his staff a crusading faith in the capacities of the common soldier, Chinese or Western. The barest minimum judgment on him, as phrased by his most vindictive rival, Chennault, will be that Stilwell was "one of the best divisional commanders the United States ever produced." History, however, is likely to rate him more highly, in the class of Marshall, Bradley, and Eisenhower, as an American commander with fundamental instincts that put American-style democracy and humanity above any interest in military power or position for its own sake.

For over two years Stilwell steered his course through the central vortex of China's war-time politics, up against the problem that American diplomats still face—how to pursue broad and essentially humane American ends in cooperation with Chinese leadership which puts personal power before every other consideration. A lesser man than Stilwell might have taken the easier way, magnified Chinese virtues, excused vices, and compromised in order to get at least half results. Stilwell's moral fiber made this difficult. When he saw evil, he refused to call it "quaint."

The result is that his private diary, sprinkled with a G. I.-type of alimentary profanity, is the most comprehensive and pungent indictment of a Chinese potentate ever set on paper. These notes are a record of day-to-day

feelings. They take you at one jump into the emotional core of a theater commander who because of his eminence could have few confidants. After some months' experience of the Chinese war effort under Chiang, Stilwell's main emotion became one of loathing for him, both as a person and as a symbol. He began to refer to him as "Peanut."

*Red-letter day.* . . . The answer came from Peanut. . . . After a year of constant struggle he is committed, in writing, to the attack on Burma. What corruption, intrigue, obstruction, delay, double-crossing, hate, jealousy, and skulduggery we have had to wade through. What a cesspool! . . . What bigotry and ignorance and black ingratitude!

Stilwell's intimate contact with Chungking officialdom did not increase his regard for it.

A gang of thugs with the one idea of perpetuating themselves and their machine. Money, influence, and position the only considerations of the leaders. Intrigue, double-crossing, lying reports. Hands out for anything they can get; their only idea to let someone else do the fighting; false propaganda on their "heroic struggle"; indifference of "leaders" to their men. Cowardice rampant, squeeze paramount, smuggling above duty, colossal ignorance and stupidity of staff, total inability to control factions and cliques, continued oppression of masses. The only factor that saves them is the dumb compliance of the *lao pai hsing* [the common people]. The "intellectuals" and the rich send their precious brats to the [United] States, and the farmer boys go out and get killed—without care, training, or leadership. And we are maneuvered into the position of having to support this rotten regime and glorify its figurehead, the all-wise great patriot and soldier—Peanut. My God!

"The Stilwell Papers" abound in high-class vituperation.

This insect, this stink in the nostrils, superciliously inquires what we will do, who are breaking our backs to help him, supplying everything—troops, equipment, planes, medical, signal, motor services, setting up his goddam SOS, training his lousy troops, bucking his bastardly chief of staff and general staff, and he, the

Jovian Dictator, who starves his troops and who is the world's greatest ignoramus, picks flaws in our preparations and hems and haws about the navy. God save us.

For American policy makers the question is not whether a frustrated commander showed good taste in using swear words in his private diary. The question is what weight should be given to Stilwell's indictment of Chiang. As a war-time ally who eventually had Chinese troops intrusted to his command, Stilwell probably worked with Chiang more closely than anyone ever has on the command level. His penetration of the Chinese scene was facilitated by his many years' study of the Chinese nation, the people, and the language, and there can be no question of his strong affection for the Chinese common man.

Some allowance must of course be made for the difficulties of promoting a war effort in the war-weary atmosphere of Chungking. As all who experienced it will agree, it was corrosive. Stilwell's "Lyric to Spring" expresses a common American and also Chinese reaction:

I welcomed the spring in romantic Chungking.  
I walked in her beautiful bowers.  
In the light of the moon, in the sunshine at noon,  
I savored the fragrance of flowers.

(The garbage is rich, as it rots in the ditch  
And the honey-carts scatter pollution,  
The effluvium rank, from the crap in the tank,  
Is the stink of its scummy solution.)

Take me back to the Coast, to the place  
I love most,  
Get me out of this odorous sewer.  
I'm in . . . to my neck, but I'm quitting,  
by heck!  
And I'll nevermore shovel manure.

Behind the frustrations of the war-time capital, however, Stilwell was up against something far more fundamental, which he described bit by bit as he experienced it. This was the essential nature of Chinese politics and of Chiang's position in it—a subject of great complexity which social scientists have yet to explore. As the One Man at the top of the Chinese political pyramid, Chiang played a role completely opposite to that of Stilwell. Where the American theater commander had, as he confessed, a

"one-track mind" and a simple purpose, to beat the Japs, the head of the Chinese government had a politician's instinct for balancing cliques and personalities, and an over-all objective, to maintain his regime. Where Stilwell drove for action, Chiang temporized and avoided commitment. Suspicion was mutual. Stilwell found the Gimo "obstinate, pigheaded, ignorant, intolerant, unreasonable, illogical, ungrateful, grasping." Given Chiang's pride, as the chief personality in Chinese life for fifteen years past, it can be imagined that he reciprocated.

In a political system as personal as that of Nationalist China the power of a leader can maintain itself only by becoming steadily more complete. The legislative process, the election process, the judicial process are still not well established. Men take precedence over laws. And the institutions of government cannot be relied upon, as in older modern states, to function impartially and effectively without the intervention of the top authority. Government in Nationalist China is still essentially personal, as it was for two thousand years under the Chinese Empire.

Personal government brings in its train many evils—the need to put loyalty above competence, to allow corruption as the price of loyalty; the tendency to prevent change, which threatens power, and to concentrate power in order to prevent change. The result is that no subordinate can take initiative, the One Man at the top becomes a bottleneck, and nothing can be accomplished, all of which brings demoralization, corruption, and loss of popular support, finally tending toward a police state. This is what Stilwell's salty notes describe, and this is the problem we still face in China.

J. K. FAIRBANK

### Property, Language, and Piety

*IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES.* By Richard M. Weaver. University of Chicago Press. \$2.75.

MR. WEAVER'S book has a pragmatic-sounding title, but it is a direct attack upon the partial and piecemeal approach of "pragmatism" and "empiricism" and their concern with the material conditions of the good life.

It is written in the conviction that "our conception of metaphysical reality finally governs our conception of everything else," and it is consequently fairly typical of many recent excursions into social therapy. Mr. Weaver's thesis seems as straightforward as one could wish: his account of the dissolution of the West, he tells us, is based "not on analogy but on deduction"; the crucial event in Western history is the triumph in medieval times of William of Occam's nominalism over logical realism. "All the evils in our now extensive catalogue," Mr. Weaver writes, proceed, "in the same way that conclusions come from premises," from this "falsified picture of the world."

Nominalism denied the reality of ideas and limited reality to that perceived by the senses. From this shift in the orientation of our culture came all our modern decadence—our inability to discern distinction, the sensationalism of our press, radio, and movies, the spoiled-child gospel of consumption, the elective system in colleges, the equality of women. Even jazz and impressionism are connected: the one is "a music to go with empiricism"; the other "brings nominalism into painting." To save ourselves, Mr. Weaver argues, we must recover our belief in objective truth; and we can begin by reaffirming property rights against invasion by monopolies and the state, by recovering respect for the symbolic value of words, and by re-

THESE memoirs of a beloved teacher and public figure tell of some of the best years of our national life. "The work of an extraordinarily courageous and gallant man. . . . A fitting capstone to a wonderful career."  
—JOHN GUNTHER

## Robert Morss Lovett's ALL OUR YEARS

THE VIKING PRESS

\$3.75



capturing *pietas* toward nature, the past, and human personality.

Now one would be glad to agree with Mr. Weaver on some things. After all, property, language, and piety are all good in themselves. But Mr. Weaver makes agreement difficult. Although he asks us to be humble in the face of our failures, Mr. Weaver's tone is anything but humble. He repeatedly accuses those who disagree with him of complacency. And he insists that we cannot understand or support any of his specific proposals unless we agree with all his first principles. Unfortunately, when I interpret him as he wishes in the light of his first principles, I find that his thesis is not, as the rather "nominalist" advertisements of his book have it, "revolutionary" or "shocking," but merely trivial, if not self-contradictory.

There are three possible interpretations of Mr. Weaver's argument. The first is that our present difficulties are caused by the fact that men have deduced the consequences of nominalism. But this interpretation conflicts with Mr. Weaver's repeated assertion that nominalism has made men lose respect for deductive logic and ideas. Why, then, should they be so unusually conscientious about deducing the consequences of this position? The second possibility is that Mr. Weaver means that nominalism logically implies modern culture, even though nobody actually draws that inference. But since Mr. Weaver is writing a history, he would then have to argue that these consequences follow in time, whether or not men take any part in the process. I hope that Mr. Weaver does not mean that history is the unfolding of a logical process in which men play no necessary role, for that

conflicts with what he regards as the distinctive merit of his position—the affirmation of the efficacy of human intelligence and will.

The third possibility is that Mr. Weaver merely wishes to argue that nominalism is "responsible" for modern culture in the way in which, for example, nominalism is connected with the superstition that "facts" can be established without ideas. But this is not a logical consequence of all nominalisms; nor can nominalism be said to be the "cause" of this superstition any more than logical realism can be held to be the cure: some logical realists have not drawn Mr. Weaver's conclusions, and many "empiricists," for example, Mill, have seen the dangers in the tyranny of the majority. In general, it is difficult to see how any purely logical doctrine implies a social program unless we introduce certain empirical conditions. If Mr. Weaver means simply that a metaphysics makes a difference, with which I should agree, he must show how it makes a difference by showing how it works *in conjunction with* other circumstances, such as individual temperament, the economy, or family structure, which have been separately defined. This would mean, however, that Mr. Weaver would have to give up his deductive ideal. And if he has been consistent with that ideal, he can have been so only by defining everything else in terms of "nominalism." In short, Mr. Weaver has delivered himself of a solemn tautology.

In Mr. Weaver's entire book I find only three words which suggest that he is aware of such objections as these. He says in his Introduction that our basic ideas have a great, "though not unobstructed," power to determine our course. But since he never looks into the "obstructions" and simply blames everything on "nominalism," I can only conclude that this was a mere slip of the pen which he has had the good judgment never to repeat. In fact, Mr. Weaver nowhere defines either nominalism or realism clearly, and simply calls whatever he dislikes "empirical." Of course, his argument is in one way impervious to criticism, since he holds that knowledge is definition, and "ultimate definition is . . . a matter of intuition." But this hardly seems the best way to restore respect for language.

It is a pity that more and more of

those who would defend the values of the humanist tradition feel called upon to do so in such an absolutist way that they not only strain logic and language but distort that many-valued tradition. One of the more serious perils of living in a culture as sick as ours is the temptation to dream of a total cure. As Mr. Weaver himself says, "Signs of disintegration arouse fear, and fear leads to desperate unilateral efforts toward survival, which only forward the process."

CHARLES FRANKEL

### A Catholic Philosopher

COMMUNITY OF THE FREE. By Yves R. Simon. Henry Holt and Company. \$3.

PARADOXICALLY, Catholicism has always been "catholic." It embraces contrasts and even antinomies. Pétain and Maurras are Catholics in their own fashion; so are Léon Bloy, Péguy, Bernanos. So is Jacques Maritain. Yves Simon, who teaches philosophy at Notre Dame, is a disciple and friend of Maritain. He is a product of that magnificent resurgence of Catholic thought that resulted from the separation of church and state: "Sanctus Emile Combes, ora pro nobis!" The moral—that is, political and social—philosophy that he offers us spurns equally the chaos of nineteenth-century "liberalism" and the materialistic determinism of the Marxists. It is a humane philosophy, founded upon the dignity of man; and as Pascal put it, what gives man his dignity is thought—*free* thought would be pleonastic.

The book contains masterly pieces of analysis. Take, for instance, Simon's typology of the Rebels: Lumpenproletariat, individualistic petits bourgeois, robber barons, frustrated intellectuals (*touché!*), perfectionists. Or the part on "a pool of cheap labor." Cheap labor is indispensable if even the lowest bourgeoisie is to be saved from menial toil. Racial, social, and economic theories are but a rationalization of that essential demand. Like all true Catholics, Simon is free from race prejudice; like all true Catholics, he does not place the Freedom to Grab above human charity; like all true Catholics, he thinks of all men as children of God and is not exclusively interested in the alleged élites.

I am therefore in deep sympathy with the author. Of course, we differ on

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May 29, 1948

many minor points. He rejects with horror the idea of extermination, forgetting that it has Biblical warrant—but Catholicism is not committed to Bible worship as Protestantism is. With Babbitt, he equates romanticism with Rousseauism, and both with optimism. Two fallacies: romanticism is all things to all men, and there is a deep pessimism in Rousseau. He quotes Condorcet as a model of optimism; but Condorcet was the representative of the Enlightenment, against which both Rousseau and romanticism rebelled. He brackets together as shallow pessimists Byron, Musset, Vigny; let him read again "The Destinies" and "The Mount of Olives." He concludes that optimism alone has absolute value; pessimism is a delusion—if not, Almighty God would be defeated. So he takes sides with Leibnitz and Dr. Pangloss, with Robert Browning ("God is in His Heaven"), and with Mrs. Eddy.

Still, on the whole, I am with him. The term "fellow-traveler" is in ill repute. I am a born fellow-traveler. During the war, like every good American from the President down, I was a fellow-traveler with Stalin, and I am proud of it. I was a fellow-traveler with De Gaulle, and even with Chiang Kai-shek. I am a fellow-traveler with Yves Simon. There is a parting of the ways, and I know exactly where it is: I found it in Pascal. Yves Simon knows it as well as I. But that should not prevent us from working together for the ideal we have in common, and the parting of the ways might be pushed back so far that, on the human plane, we might remain fellow-travelers indefinitely.

ALBERT GUERARD, SR.

## Fiction in Review

THE scarcity of satiric fiction in this country is something this department has often lamented. Aldous Huxley—if he can now be claimed as an American—Helen Howe, Dawn Powell: with three novelists we about exhaust the list of names associated with the form. And of these, Huxley has increasingly subdued his brilliant satiric gifts to his religious message, and Helen Howe indicates a desire to sacrifice hers to social piety. As a matter of fact, even

Dawn Powell, with her last book, deserted satire entirely in favor of sentimental childhood reminiscence. Evidently the business of poking serious fun at ourselves is uncongenial to present-day taste: our hard times are to be approached only in a spirit of grim salvationism, or wholly evaded by ducking back to a gentler past.

But though we are prepared to welcome Dawn Powell's return to satiric writing with her new novel, "The Locusts Have No King" (Scribner's, \$3), I am afraid the reception cannot be as wholehearted as might be wished. There are many wonderful things in Miss Powell's book, such as her admirers have come to expect in her work—passages of great intelligence and fiercely courageous wit. The novel as a whole, however, quite fails to sustain the excitement promised by its best moments. It would be convenient to place the blame for this disappointment on a general cultural situation which lays too heavy a burden of responsibility upon the writer and gives too little license to gaiety. Certainly this describes our present literary condition. But unfortunately it is my sense that "The Locusts Have No King," instead of reflecting our generally difficult literary state, reflects only Miss Powell's own problems as a writer.

The clue to the matter lies, I think, in Miss Powell's choice of characters, or—more accurately—in the discrepancy be-

tween the power of mind revealed on virtually every page of her novel and the insignificance of the human beings upon whom she directs her excellent intelligence. "The Locusts Have No King" is about a group of contemporary New Yorkers who, most of them, live directly or indirectly by association with the arts—playwrights, publishers, press agents, culture-promoters, painters. A shabbier crowd of hangers-on and barflies it would be hard to find. Not a single individual among them either positively or negatively, either by the nature of his ambition or the distance of his fall from glory, suggests any human ideal which justifies a writer's bothering with the human race at all. Even Miss Powell's scholarly hero, Frederick Olliver, or her playwright heroine, Mrs. Gaynor, the two people who stand for the best that Miss Powell can say for our species, can scarcely be taken to represent a correction of their fellows which is worth our concern—though Miss Powell offers them as such; for neither of them ever evokes any image of dignity or stature. But this is death to satire. The size of a satire necessarily derives from the size of the object satirized, which in turn derives from the ideal vision of life against which the author sets his picture of a faulty reality. We are always, after all, only as big as the things we laugh at, and if we choose to mock some poor pub-

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crawler or some silly little Southern tart trying to make her way in the big city, who are we to say that life owes us any better possibility for ourselves?

In her last satiric novel, "A Time to Be Born," Miss Powell at least chose as the chief object of her wit someone equal to it—a very powerful woman, able to destroy her betters. But in the previous book, too, Miss Powell's principle of correction represented no correction at all but merely an act of sentimentality. In the degree that we were invited to pillory the tycooness of "A Time to Be Born" we were also invited to give our affection to a pair of utterly inconsequential young lovers—an unnecessary, indeed an impossible, choice for anyone as intelligent as Miss Powell to force on her readers.

But, as I say, here is the nub of Miss Powell's difficulty—in the curious disparity between what one might call her abstract intelligence and the human material on which, for the most part, she expends it. One wonders why anyone with so much strength and passion of mind, and so much clarity about the debasement of intellectual values in our society, should have so poor a notion of what constitutes the kind of person worth scorning or fearing or respecting. Perhaps, though one hesitates to stress the point, the imbalance springs from the anomalous role which an intelligent woman still plays in our culture—the myriad subtle pressures exerted on her to prove her "womanliness" by disproving her seriousness, to disarm male hostility by asserting a basic frivolity. Certainly no man of Miss Powell's intellectual endowment would fritter away his powers on the small-time creatures to whom Miss Powell devotes herself, or be guilty of the sentimental gestures that so markedly diminish the value of her keen social perceptions.

DIANA TRILLING

### Drama Note

**J**OSE FERRER has returned to the Civic Center to head again a company giving a brief season of repertory, which is to include "The Insect Comedy" and a bill of one-act plays by O'Neill. The opening production was a version of Ben Jonson's "The Alchemist," done in much the same boisterous manner as "Volpone," which was

seen at the same theater earlier this season. Mr. Ferrer is an amusingly vivacious low comedian, and since *Variety* thinks well of the present performance it may be assumed that it will satisfy many members of the larger public. Those who know the play are likely to have numerous reservations. Granted that its tone is perhaps less serious than that of "Volpone," it is still not merely the scenario for a sort of *commedia dell'arte*. At the very least, Jonson's words are important, and they create powerful grotesque effects which ought to be as evident as the boisterous action. It may well be that large difficulties lie in the way of making them effective, but the present production misses even some obvious points, and unless an attempt is made to realize Jonson's intention it seems hardly worthwhile to do the play at all.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

### Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

**T**HE past that rose before us in the exhibition of Le Corbusier's paintings at Rosenberg's was unexpectedly cute: that is, the cubist twenties in the hands of such a lesser light as this seemed naive and sophisticated all in one. And we were not reminded so much of Cocteau, of:

Muses qui ne songez à plaire ou à déplaire,  
Je sens que vous partez sans même dire adieu

as of E. E. Cummings's:

what's become of (if you please)  
all the glory that or which was Greece  
all the granja  
that was dada?

The grandeur of cubism is absent from these pictures, but something of its quality remains and a good deal of the spirit of its times. And it remains that Le Corbusier was more than a little competent as a painter, even if his color is brittle and his application of cubism as a unifying style shaky.

Léger taught him to play with the shading of cylindrical volumes and to nail still-life objects to the canvas like heraldic emblems, and he also lent him his brassy color—but color is a department in which Le Corbusier is success-

ful only when, as in some of the earliest pictures shown here (1922-24), he restricts himself to grayish and pinkish whites, grays and diluted earth colors. This quasi-absence of color was *purisme*, the style and dogma he and Ozenfant developed in the early twenties out of cubism, Léger, and an infatuation with the impersonal, machined objectivity of the industrial product.

Le Corbusier's still lifes are overcrowded and describe too much, but they are not—if the distinction is permitted—overloaded; we are rarely assured of the integrity of the picture plane or of the unity of the design, but a certain unity of feeling does supervene. Under and above the staccato color and the cluttered composition comes a harmony, that of cubist style, which even in the imperfect grasp of this artist was still vital enough at this point in its history to press home its demand for clarity.

As the decade wore along, Le Corbusier's art seems to have gained in ampleness and force. In 1927 we get such a strong picture as the "Syphon et Gants," and in 1928 the "Deux Bouteilles et Livre." Far from complete in integration and as lacking as they are in the architectural unity for which they strive, pictures like these demonstrate the continuing energy of the style of their period and swell that stock of good minor painting upon which our eyes will still want to feed for the sake of a delectation that is somehow unobtainable from the impervious works of the greatest masters.

Robert Motherwell's current show at Kootz's (through May 29) is another big step forward on his part and, coming after his last year's show, makes his inclusion among our more important contemporary painters obligatory. Large and middle-sized canvases built on figure motifs and showing flat, uninterrupted expanses of ochreous color realize a monumentality such as is rare in the art of the moment. This painting is founded on roughly geometrical simplifications and the organization of large elementary shapes with heavy but smooth surfaces. It is late cubist in its repertory of form. At the same time it exhibits a personal "handwriting" and can by no means be classified as "intellectual" or altogether studied—though



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studiedness is a vice from which Motherwell is not entirely free.

The most surprising advance in the show is seen in the collages, one of them, "Elegy," being the first really successful one by Motherwell that I have seen; and another, "Gray Woman," just missing fire because of the confusion of dark tones in its upper part. The others, however, still suffer from the weaknesses the artist has betrayed in this medium in the past: archness, efforts to carry out ideas for which the emotion was lacking to begin with or failed en route.

Motherwell's oils are, once more, a different story. The large "Painter," whose architectural simplicity conceals toil and care, seems to me the best canvas in the show and attests again to how well this painter works in large format. The smaller "Young Girl," "The Homely Protestant," and the "Brown Figure" are other well-rounded and successful canvases. "Man," a turbid and vehemently brushed picture unlike anything of Motherwell's I have seen before, almost comes off, but not quite; here the inspiration fails in the lower portion, which dissolves into chaos. If it had succeeded, the picture would have been magnificent and perhaps would have opened a new avenue of development for a painter whose persistent and somewhat disingenuous efforts to attain spontaneity have usually collapsed hitherto in the aforesaid archness—an archness like that of the interior decorator who stakes everything on a happy placing to the neglect of everything else. At this stage of his development Motherwell's gifts should put him above such tricks.

## Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ONE thing I had thought would be true of the Beecham performance of Handel's "Messiah" issued by RCA Victor (Sets 1194-5, \$14.75 and \$13.50) turned out as I had anticipated: the greater liveliness of the phrasing, as compared with Sargent's in the Columbia version. Add to that the quality of the soloists, the choruses, and the Royal Philharmonic, the brighter and somewhat clearer recorded sound, and the fact that the work is complete, with-

out the customary cuts of the Columbia version, and it would look as though the Victor version would be, without any possibility of doubt, the one to choose of the two. However, I had also wondered whether Beecham would be able to find another quartet of soloists as outstanding as those of the Columbia performance; and it turned out that Heddle Nash did not have as beautiful a tenor voice as James Johnston, nor Trevor Antony as beautiful a bass as Norman Walker, nor Majorie Thomas as beautiful a contralto as Gladys Ripley, and that as a result their singing did not make the music as moving as it was in the Columbia performance. But then came the surprise: what could be more moving than the exquisite purity of Isobel Baillie's soprano in the Columbia performance? And the answer, it turned out, was: Elsie Suddaby's phrasing. That, however, still leaves the solo portions sung more beautifully in the Columbia performance; and the sound of the chorus in the choral portions is also finer. And since this is vocal music I would choose, if I had to make the difficult choice, the Columbia version.

Victor also has issued Bach's Magnificat, performed by Robert Shaw with his chorus, Susanne Freil, soprano, Blanche Thebom, mezzo-soprano, Ernicé Lawrence, tenor, Paul Matthen, bass, and a chamber orchestra with Robert Bloom as solo oboe d'amore, and William Vaccchio as solo trumpet (Set 1167, \$6). This is another of the works of Bach in which the arias—with one or two exceptions—move me less than the choral passages. It gets a characteristically straightforward treatment from Shaw, without much subtle inflection of the fine choral sonorities. The solo singing by Miss Thebom and Mr. Matthen is especially good (though Miss Thebom's voice no longer has the opulence one heard on earlier records); Miss Freil's is also good; but Mr. Lawrence's voice has a rawness and strain in the forceful aria *Deposuit potentes* that are not heard in the alto-tenor duet *Et misericordia*. The performance is reproduced with good spacing-out and balance of chorus and orchestra, and the chorus with excellent quality of sound and a fair amount of clarity of texture.

English Decca has issued a volume of

## Christ. God, Man or Myth?

Did Christ Himself write down any record of His life? If so, where are these writings today? Do they exist in any museum or library or sacred shrine? Can you find a trace of them in the vast and mysterious subterranean archives of the Vatican in Rome? The answer is NO! Nowhere has any man been able to discover a single word that Jesus wrote?

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excerpts from Bach's St. Matthew Passion (Set 43, \$15.75), of which the only unsatisfactory feature is the scrappy effect of a number of excerpts from a work of such powerful organic continuity. The performance by the Bach Choir, Elsie Suddaby, soprano, Katherine Ferrier, contralto, Eric Greene, tenor, William Parsons and Bruce Boyce, basses, the Jacques Orchestra, Dr. Thornton Lofthouse, harpsichordist, and Dr. Peasgood, organist, under the direction of Dr. Reginald Jacques, is excellent, with especially beautiful singing by Miss Ferrier and Miss Suddaby and amazingly beautiful singing by the chorus. And it is superbly reproduced by the recording.

Readers may recall my reporting that the de Sabata performance of Mozart's Requiem on imported Cetra records was one of the greatest things ever put on records. The American Cetra-Soria Company has now issued considerably less expensive American pressings from Italian masters (Set 101, \$15.75), which are free of the scrapes and other noisy defects of the imported records, but which, unfortunately, have other more serious defects. One of the most wonderful sides, the *Lacrymosa*, wavers in pitch—not too badly the first half, but unendurably after that. One friend was lucky enough to get a set with only that one bad side, and felt that the rest was worth it; but in my review copy there is slight wavering near the ends of three additional sides, and more pronounced wavering on a fourth; and two other friends drew sets in which the defect was unendurable from the beginning of side 1.

### CONTRIBUTORS

J. K. FAIRBANK is an associate chairman of the China Program of the Committee on International and Regional Studies of Harvard University.

CHARLES FRANKEL, a member of the Department of Philosophy at Columbia University, has just published "The Faith of Reason: The Idea of Progress in the French Enlightenment."

DIANA TRILLING, whose column, Fiction in Review, has been a regular feature of *The Nation* since June, 1942, is taking a leave of absence until next fall.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

### A Very Striking Similarity

*Dear Sirs:* This recent gem from Westbrook Pegler sets some sort of new record for sheer idiocy: "For look you. The fellow [Henry Wallace] has a silly bang which flops over his eyes. So did Hitler. He is a vegetarian. So was Hitler. He hears voices. So did Hitler."

God help Wallace if he looked like Stalin. Still, they both have two eyes and a nose. Maybe Pegler slipped up.

ADOLF L. HAMBURGER

Baltimore, May 20

P. S. I am an old *Nation* subscriber and am not going to vote for Wallace.

### The Next Step in Fighting Covenants

*Dear Sirs:* It was no coincidence that Negroes were the defendants in all four of the cases in which the Supreme Court recently outlawed enforcement of race-restrictive covenants on property. Undoubtedly the Negro minority was the hardest hit by this disreputable device. However, other minorities were also widely affected. One week after the principal decisions the court disposed of a similar case involving covenants against Chinese and Koreans.

Discrimination against Jews, as Carey McWilliams has shown, first manifested itself at resorts and large hotels, but it also found expression in restrictive covenants. As early as 1919 such covenants were sufficiently prevalent to prompt the state of Minnesota to invalidate all covenants against "persons of a specified religious faith or creed." Anti-Negro covenants, however, were not touched by the Minnesota statute, which was the only law of its kind ever adopted by any state.

At the time of the Supreme Court decisions proceedings involving covenants against Jews were pending or under consideration in Virginia, Maryland, and Missouri. The Virginia case involved a covenant against "Negroes, Greeks, Syrians, or . . . any person who belongs to any race, creed, or sect which holds, recognizes, or observes any day of the week other than the first day of the week to be the Sabbath. . . ." In the Maryland case, where the Christian defendant was married to a Jew, the plaintiffs went so far as to ask the court to compel the wife to prevent her husband from occupying the property with her.

Everyone who has commented on the Supreme Court decisions has pointed out that they do not touch voluntary discrimination—that is, the refusal of individual landowners and real-estate agents, by agreement or otherwise, to sell or lease to minority groups. This form of discrimination is now the chief problem in housing. The recent Supreme Court decisions will not eliminate existing ghetto patterns as long as the owners of large apartment houses and housing developments are free to impose rigid segregation patterns. "Gentlemen's agreements" are still far too prevalent.

Where housing is constructed with state aid, constitutional principles probably forbid discrimination. That is the basis of the Stuyvesant Town case, a test suit against the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company initiated by the American Jewish Congress, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the American Civil Liberties Union. The state and city have made it possible for Metropolitan to erect the Stuyvesant Town development by granting tax exemption, use of the power of eminent domain, and other benefits. The plaintiffs argue that this is "state action" and that therefore Metropolitan's refusal to admit Negroes to the 8,700-family development is unconstitutional.

Purely private developments, however, may not be open to such an attack. Fair-housing-practice statutes, together with organized community pressure to induce acceptance of unsegregated living arrangements, are the next step.

JOSEPH B. ROBISON,  
Commission on Law and Social Action  
American Jewish Congress  
New York, May 20

### Last Chapter in the Story of a Teacher

In our issue of May 1 a letter from Barton Bean, chairman of the Buffalo Committee to defend American Education, told of the persecution of Miss Eleanor Dushane, a teacher at East High School, Buffalo, who held "religious and political beliefs which her principal did not share."

Miss Dushane, who had once tacked up a notice of a lecture to be given by Max Lerner in a Buffalo church, and who sometimes recommended *The Nation*, *the New Republic*, *PM*, and other

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May 29, 1948

liberal journals to her students, was subjected to almost two years of "a seemingly planned campaign of terror." She received threatening anonymous letters, her students were spied on, some were hectoring by the principal in the presence of a priest, the press charged her with being "subversive." The Board of Education of Buffalo conducted two investigations into Miss Dushane's case; it originally cleared her of all charges, but a year later, while again clearing her, it recommended that she accept sick leave for the rest of the year. Although it meant accepting a loss of pay equivalent in effect to a fine of \$1,500, Miss Dushane, on advice of counsel, accepted the sick leave and then took her case to the courts, with the assistance of the Buffalo Committee to Defend American Education.

Late last week we received another communication from Mr. Bean, this time by telegram.—EDITORS THE NATION.

THE NATION—NYK—MAY 20

ELEANOR DUSHANE WON MANDAMUS PROCEEDINGS TODAY. COURT ORDERS REINSTATEMENT, BACK PAY, FULL SICK-LEAVE BENEFITS. COMPLETE VICTORY.

BARTON BEAN, CHAIRMAN

BUFFALO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICAN EDUCATION

## What's His Club?

Dear Sirs: We thought some of your readers might be interested in a letter by John W. Haines, Princeton '29, which appeared in the April 30 issue of the *Princeton Alumni Weekly*. It says in part:

Is it indeed a fact that there are now Negro students attending Princeton, or is it an unfounded rumor? . . . What is to be gained by admitting the black brothers to Princeton? Will anyone, save a few Negroes—it is fervently to be hoped a very few in any event—gain a better education thereby? . . . Let Negroes seek an education at any school which may desire them, and by all means let such individuals as care to do so eat with them, play with them, dance with them, and marry them (in states which permit it); but why thrust them upon the undergraduates and alumni of Princeton, which has progressed these many years very happily without them?

The letter, of course, speaks for itself, but not, we hope, for the majority of Princeton undergraduates and alumni.

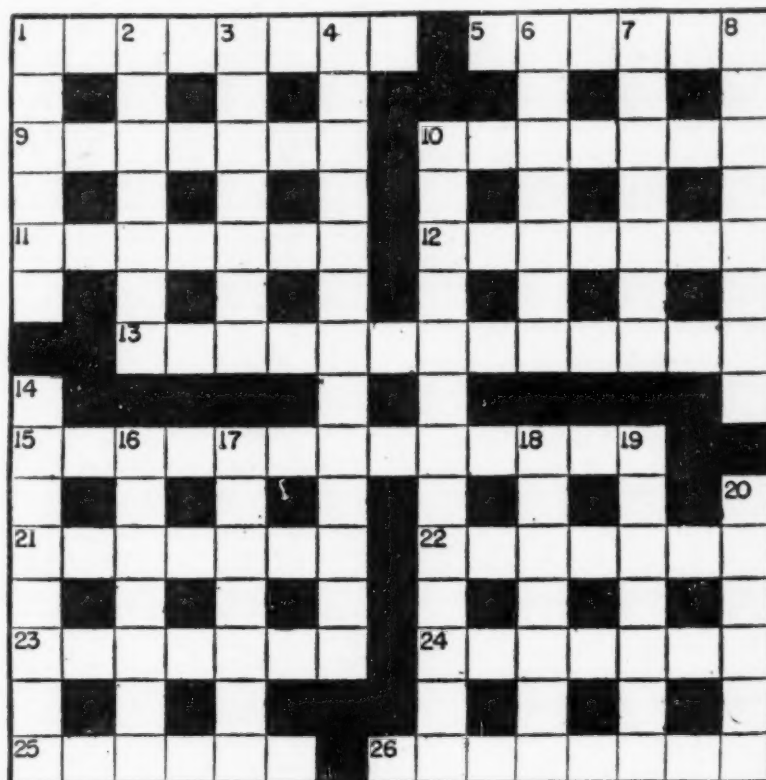
DEAN H. ALLEN

DONALD M. FINNIE

Princeton, New Jersey, May 15

# Crossword Puzzle No. 264

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

- 1 Inca word for leather. (8)
- 5 Everybody has such a girdle. (6)
- 9 Old, old violins. (7)
- 10 Some body needs a low fellow to testify for him. (7)
- 11 Train it like the man who perfected the bow. (7)
- 12 Back-talk the bull has to take? (7)
- 13 He doesn't enjoy good health. (13)
- 15 Ties that bind. (13)
- 21 Sort of side that gets put in. (7)
- 22 Most permanent mountain? (7)
- 23 How we roll along. (7)
- 24 A cat the services keep posted. (7)
- 25 These have a nebulous train. (6)
- 26 He holds services in services. (3, 5)

## DOWN

- 1 Twenty-fourths. (6)
- 2 Renaissance. (7)
- 3 The home of the brave. (7)
- 4 How babies do cry! (13)
- 6 Furnished. (7)
- 7 In a revival, did he furnish the violin music? (7)

- 8 It's only a step to the car outside. (8)
- 10 The bossy chicken who stayed on the side of the road? (4, 2, 3, 4)
- 14 Festival overture. (8)
- 16 What happens when the banjo-strings are broken? (7)
- 17 The bookies' friend is around when the gentleman gets up. (7)
- 18 Dance of the motorless 8? (7) (hyphenated)
- 19 You sometimes get letters from clients of this sort. (7)
20. How one might swear that the student passes thus. (6)

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 263

ACROSS:—1 OF SHOES AND SHIPS AND SEALING WAX, OF CABBAGES AND KINGS; 5 BRECCIA; 9 ARTISTE; 10 CLIMBED; 12 PARAGRAPH; 14 WIDE AND DEEP; 20 SOS; 21 ADORNED; 23 SASH; 25 DYSPEPSIA; 29 OPERATE; 30 INTRUDE; 31 FASTENS; 32 GARNERS. DOWN:—1 OZARKS; 2 SATINS; 3 OBSESSION; 4 STEEPLE; 5 BACTRIA; 6 EKEING; 16 DISHWATER; 17 EON; 18 AARDWOLF; 19 DOSSIERS; 22 DUSTERS; 24 EXHUME; 26 OFFERS; 27 EVADIA.



## Wellesley Summer Institute

*Dear Sirs:* Readers of *The Nation* will be interested to know that the sessions of the Summer Institute for Social Progress at Wellesley from June 26 through July 9 are open to men and women of all vocations interested in the theme "The Real Issue of 1948: The Responsibility of the United States in the World Situation."

Robert Bendiner heads the Program Committee, Harry C. Meserve is chairman of the faculty, and Edward S. Lewis is dean of the workshops being arranged on a wide variety of domestic and international issues. The National Institute of Social Relations is cooperating with Julius Schreiber, M.D., and H. M. Forstenzer on the staff of resident and visiting speakers from leading universities, newspapers, business, civic and labor organizations, and government departments.

The institute members will live in Claflin-Severance Hall located high above Lake Waban on the beautiful country campus of Wellesley College, with its many opportunities for recreation.

A detailed program may be obtained from Harriet Smith, 19 West Mohawk Street, Buffalo, New York.

DOROTHY P. HILL, Director  
Wellesley, Mass., May 21

## Insufficient Credit

*Dear Sirs:* I feel that in placing the credit for the Alan Dunn drawings on the contents page of your Housing for America issue of May 15 you did not call sufficient attention to the acknowledgment. Might I ask you, then, to inform your readers once again that the drawings were taken from Mr. Dunn's book, "The Last Lath," with the special permission of its publishers, the *Architectural Record*?

WILMA M. COPE,  
Book Department,  
*Architectural Record*

New York, May 18

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